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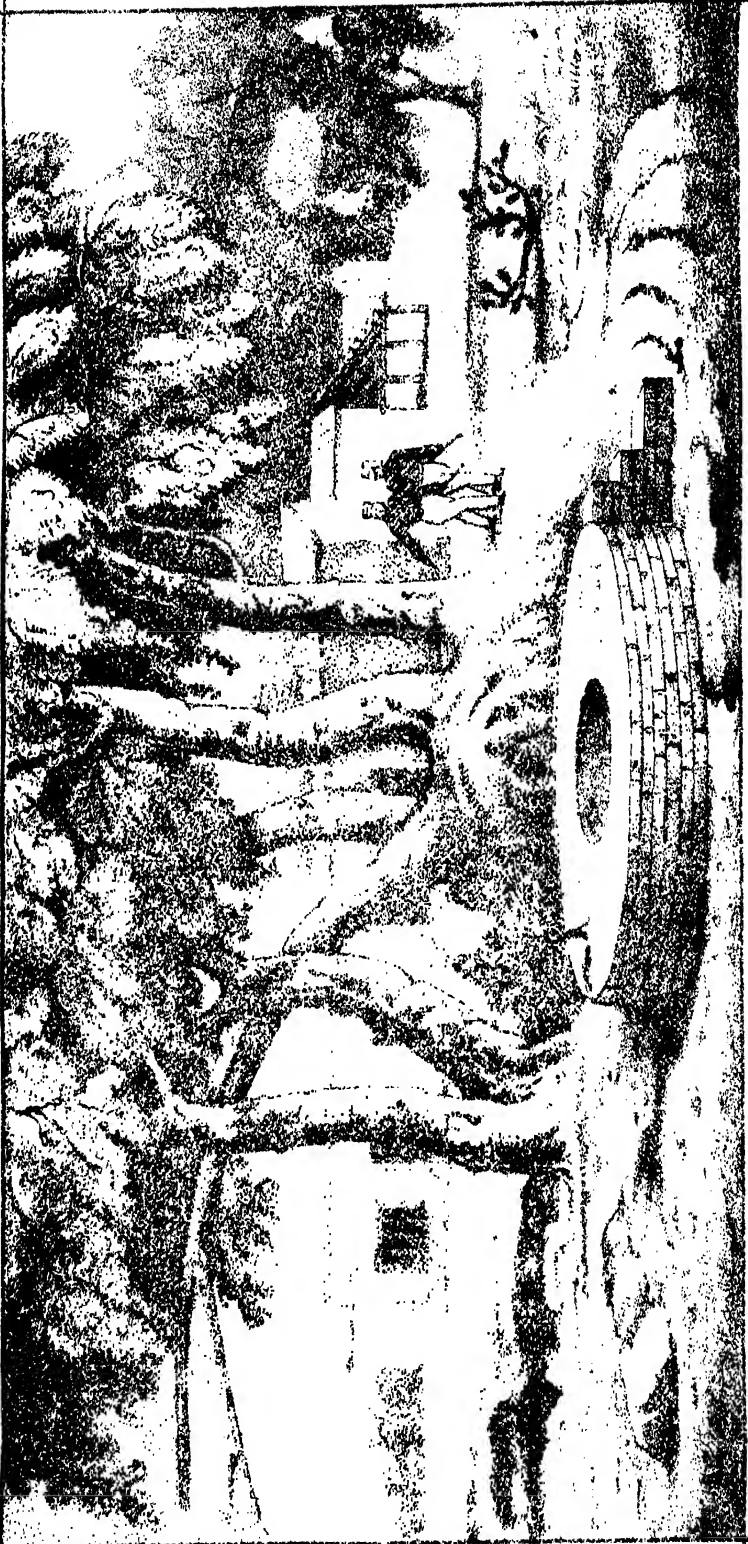
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THE LATE MR. SHEPHERD.

A SURVIVOR OF THE CAWNPORE MASSACRE.

IN our issue of Thursday last we recorded the death of Mr. W. J. Shepherd, one of the survivors of the Cawnpore massacre. A correspondent who knew the deceased, writes that Mr. Shepherd went through a series of awful adventures in that terrible time, such as seldom fall to the share of one man. While the troops were entrenched, and making a gallant stand against the overwhelming odds against them; when to stir out of cover in order to fetch water from a well within the entrenchments meant almost certain death, Mr. Shepherd, impelled by some extraordinary influence, left the friendly protection of these mud walls and sallied forth in search of his wife and family, from whom he had been separated, accidentally, when all the residents removed into the entrenchments. The dangers he went through; the hairbreadth escapes he had, and the sufferings he endured during his wanderings, are recorded by him in a book which he wrote shortly after the events, entitled, *A Personal Narrative of the outbreak and massacre at Cawnpore*, wherein he relates everything in plain, homely language. Once he was taken before the great Nana Sahib, who only spared his life on the strength of his former acquaintance with Mr. Shepherd. The deceased went mad shortly after the tragic events of 1857, after he learnt of the sad fate of his wife and children. He recovered, however, after some time, and has lived a quiet, unassuming life ever since. His book is believed to be out of print, which is a pity, as it is one of the most authentic records of the tragic events which led up to the now historical massacre of Cawnpore.



The exterior of the house in which the massacre of the women and children took place and the well known where their
sides were thrown on 16th July 1857 — East View.

— Copied by J. Bennett, Calcutta from a sketch taken at Calcutta by Lieut. C. W. Crump in August 1857.

A
PERSONAL NARRATIVE
OF THE
OUTBREAK AND MASSACRE
AT CAWNPORE,
DURING THE SEPOY REVOLT OF
1857.

Second Edition—Revised and Corrected,

WITH SEVEN ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY W. J. SHEPHERD,

ONE OF THE SURVIVORS OF THE GARRISON UNDER

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HUGH MASSY WHEELER, K.C.B.,

AND IN CONNECTION WITH THE ABOVE IS NOW ADDED

ENGLAND'S GREAT MISSION TO INDIA,

IN THREE PARTS.

—•••••
LUCKNOW:

PRINTED AT THE LONDON PRINTING PRESS, BY R. CRAVEN.

1879.

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SACRED
TO THE
PERPETUAL MEMORY
OF
A GREAT COMPANY
OF
CHRISTIAN PEOPLE
WHO PERISHED
AT
CAWNPORE
IN
JUNE
AND
JULY,
MDCCCLVII.

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PREFACE.

IN compliance with the request contained in letter noted at foot,* I prepared and submitted to the Officiating Commissary-General a "Brief Account of the Cawnpore Massacre;" copies of which were at the same time furnished to other gentlemen at Cawnpore, and it was published in the papers at Calcutta, as also in the *Evening Mail*, London (6th to 9th November, 1857). In this "Account" all details of the sufferings personally experienced by me were omitted, as I had intended that that should form a distinct portion of my narrative for private circulation only.

However, when the manuscript was ready, it was considered desirable that it should be placed before the public for general information. I, therefore, proceeded to Calcutta, in November, 1858. When consulting with some of the respectable firms there, I was strongly recommended to have the book published in England. I was accordingly induced to send, in

*No. 189.—To MR. §SHEPHERD, Head Assistant, Executive Commissariat Office, Cawnpore, dated Commissary-General's Office, Fort William, 29th July, 1857.

Sir,—I have the honor to request you will furnish me, as soon as possible, with a statement of the circumstances that occurred at Cawnpore connected with the Commissariat Department from the date of the outbreak at that place, and as far as your knowledge of the particulars extend.

2. You should, if you can, state as to what became of Conductor Berrell and Sergeant Ryan and cattle (particularly the elephants), the Office Writers, Contractors, &c., and of the conduct of all parties. If you can give *any* further information of importance, be good enough to do so, as it will doubtless be acceptable to Government.

I have, &c.,
(Sd.) T. J. NUTHALL,
Officiating Commissary-General.

December, 1858, a copy of the manuscript to Messrs. Longman, Brown, and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, who at first agreed to undertake the work, saying—

“We shall be happy to publish it on our usual terms of dividing profits, *i. e.*, that we take all the risk of the publication, expenses, and share all the profits after our outlay is repaid.”

In their subsequent letter, however, they proposed to re-write the manuscript, and at the same time stated that the announcement since made by another firm that they were about to publish the “Story of Cawnpore,” by Captain Mowbray Thomson, would essentially interfere with the sale of my book, and would prevent their undertaking it at their own risk.

By this time I had returned to Agra, where some kind gentlemen (among them, Mark Thornhill, Esq., Judge of Agra, and F. W. Place, Esq., Proprietor, *Delhi Gazette*) had taken a lively interest in the matter, and strongly objected to have the book re-written in England, fearing that it would lose its simplicity and truthfulness when written by parties not well acquainted with India, as it would then read like a work of fiction.

Mr. Thornhill then kindly had a copy of the manuscript sent to another firm in England, but found some difficulty in getting it published. As, however, much time had already been lost, and the importunities of friends to see the book in print was great, I was induced, in January, 1862, to make over the original manuscript to the manager of the *Delhi Gazette* Press to be published in that paper. This was accordingly done, chapter by chapter; at the same time, some interesting paragraphs appeared under the editorial columns, such as the following:—

“The Narrative of Events at Cawnpore is written in a graphic style that does the utmost credit to Mr. Shepherd, who has shown

powers of description not possessed by many who have had a great deal more practice in writing than he. The picture given in to-day's issue of old Baba Bhutt administering justice at Cawnpore, reminds us of Bunyan or De Foe. We can fancy we see the old sinner surrounded by the Cantonment Magistrate's amlahs, squatting on the billiard table and growling out his sentences on the unhappy prisoners. The condemnation of the drummer Mendes to six months' hard labour in irons, because he was short, and 'short men are always wicked,' is exquisite."—*Delhi Gazette*, 27th May, 1862.

"Mr. Shepherd's narrative deepens in interest as it proceeds. We have not for a long time read anything so painfully interesting as the portion published to-day. The details are, indeed, dreadful. Some think they should be forgotten. We do not. We think the danger lies in their being forgotten too soon. The eve of Lord Canning's departure is not an unfitting epoch for the appearance of this narrative. We hope he will take a copy of it home and present it to Mr. Layard."—*Delhi Gazette*, 1862.

It was, I confess, highly gratifying to me to see testimonies, such as the following, borne in the columns of some of the leading papers, to my having fully deserved the honor of being invested with the Victoria Cross; and although no such decoration has fallen to my lot, yet I feel that I have not been wanting in my exertions to be of help to my fellow-sufferers at that time of our greatest calamity:—

"The same journal mentions the probability of Majors Delafosse and Thomson being decorated with the Victoria Cross, a distinction they well merit. Our readers will recollect that those two officers survived the Cawnpore massacre. We have no hesitation in stating our conviction that Mr. Shepherd, whose narrative is now going through these columns, has done as much, if not more, to deserve the Cross than some who have obtained it."—*Delhi Gazette*, 1862.

"We are glad to see our contemporary upholds the view we expressed a short time, relating to the Victoria Cross for Mr. Shepherd. He says:—

"There are few people who can forget the massacre of the Innocents at Cawnpore, the story of which has been lately re-told by Mr. Shepherd in the columns of the *Delhi Gazette*. At first it was supposed that Lieutenants Thomson and Delafosse, of the late 53rd N. I., were the only two who had effected their escape. This took place nearly five years ago, and the 'Victoria Cross',

for which they have each been recommended, has not yet been awarded to them. Surely the Governor-General of India, as the representative of Her Majesty, should be entrusted with a few of these decorations, which he could transmit through the Commander-in-Chief to any one whose gallantry merited the decoration. How much more valuable was a Legion of Honor to a Frenchman when unpinned from the breast of Napoleon and placed on that of a deserving soldier. In India, people die before they receive their distinctions. We think Mr. Shepherd deserves the Victoria Cross as a Civil member of the Order ; if not, we know of no one who has earned it better. Thomson and Delafosse have received their brevets of Major ; how long are they to wait for the coveted, and promised V. C. ? ”—*Delhi Gazette*, 5th July, 1862

When the whole of the manuscript had in this manner been published, the public expressed a desire to have the work in a connected form ; and the manager inserted the following :—

“We have at length brought *Shepherd's Narrative of the Mutiny at Cawnpore* to a close. We cannot omit the opportunity afforded us of saying a few words on the subject. Mr. Shepherd, so far as exciting the interest of his readers is concerned, is fortunate in having to describe events, connected with by far the most interesting episode of the many of the period to which it relates. Whether it be viewed as an illustration of the proverbial gallantry of Englishmen or as an example of calm heroic endurance, we are fully justified in pronouncing it unsurpassed, if not unequalled. The patient endurance of the little band, while surrounded by enemies yelling for their blood, the deep suffering, both bodily and mentally, of the inmates of that devoted garrison, have been described by each of the few survivors ; but, in minuteness of detail, and in extent of information, Mr. Shepherd's work stands unrivalled. Hence the interest attaching to it, despite the lapse of time. In that respect it may be truthfully considered a valuable national record. We are aware of the fearful effect produced on the mind of the author, by the scenes he witnessed, and the anxiety he experienced throughout the truly trying period that elapsed between the fall of Cawnpore and its re-occupation by Havelock's force. Crushed by the enormous weight of his accumulative sorrows—and such sorrows !—for months his mind wandered between reality and romance. Reason almost succumbed—it fairly fluttered between light and darkness. It needed the incessant and untiring watchfulness of the few, who were spared at other stations, to claim the privilege of endeavouring to prevent the flame from expiring, that yet fitfully flickered. Gradually and cautiously the intellect was

made to resume its throne, and the creature was brought to submit without a murmur to the will of the Creator. Inquiries from many quarters, painful but necessary, rapidly followed recovery. Each event, and the fate of many, were recalled with a minuteness and obvious faithfulness that at once stamped the information with the impress of truth. He, who at the time was thought the sole survivor, was sought by all who had friends or relatives, in whose fate they were interested. The terrible tales had to be repeated time out of number, but they did not tire. Applications were innumerable for written details, to be transmitted to desolated hearths. Amidst all the great and mental anguish depicted around him, Mr. Shepherd was taught to recognize the object with which he, of the many pent up in that intrenchment at Cawnpore, was spared. From that only consolation amid all his trials, his mind recovered its tone. He became deeply impressed with the duty he was appointed to fulfill. It decided him upon producing the sad narrative that has passed through these columns.

“As a literary composition we have no desire to review the narrative. Criticism would be out of place. The author does not ask for the fame of a book-maker. He did not sit down and wearily search for beauty of language, in which to clothe each incident of the great drama in which he played a part. He did not pause in mute abstraction, to round each period so as to have his simple tale assume the gaudy attire of an invented romance. His effort had a much higher aim. Its charm is *simplicity*, its value *truth*. It reads as if it emanated from a mind inspired to the purpose of revealing the inscrutable will of Providence, the teachings of a justly incensed God. None who have perused it with any care, but must have been struck by the moral it contains. For our part, we consider it should not be allowed to pass into oblivion in the columns of a newspaper. It deserves to be enshrined in a more permanent casket. It is for the public to say whether it concurs in our view. We have announced our intention of re-producing it in the shape of a volume. This intention was contingent on our obtaining sufficient support to justify the measure. Up to the present date we have registered only one hundred and eighty-two subscribers.”—*Delhi Gazette*, 27th May, 1862.

Five hundred copies of the book were accordingly struck off and sold.

Years have since rolled on and no more copies are procurable. Calls have been made from time to time for them, and of late they have been rather frequent.

On receipt of the last call,* it was deemed advisable that this record of facts should not be allowed to die out ; and I have been persuaded to re-produce it in the form of a Second Edition, after a careful revision of the whole. It is satisfactory to find that the facts I had been able to glean at first, as contained in my manuscript, agree in almost every particular with the very clear synopsis of evidence prepared by Government from the depositions of upwards of sixty witnesses examined at Cawnpore under the direction of Lieut.-Colonel G. W. Williams, Commissioner of Military Police, N.-W. P. (copy published at page 668 of “The Annals of the Indian Rebellion”), being in a connected and indisputably authentic form, from which further incidents, not formerly inserted, have now been added, to make the record as complete as possible, for the information of all who may feel interested in this most melancholy subject.

W. J. SHEPHERD.

KAISUR BAGH, LUCKNOW, }
20th December, 1878. }

* Extract of a letter dated 24th July, 1878, from J. H. PRINSEP, ESQ., C. S.,
Judge of Cawnpore.

“There are others in this station who would much like to read the book ; but after my promise to you to return it, I could not let them do so without your permission. It is a pity that another edition is not published.”

CHAPTER I.

Cawnpore.—A large cantonment and civil station, situated on the right bank of the Ganges. Population, about 1,12,000, exclusive of the Military; elevation, about 580 feet.

The District of Cawnpore is bounded on the N.-E. by the Ganges; on the S.-W. by the Jumna; on the N.-W. by Etawah and Futtehghurh; and on the S.-E. by Futtehpoor on the road to Allahabad. It lies between lat. $25^{\circ} 55'$ and 27° ; Long. $79^{\circ} 34'$ and $80^{\circ} 37'$: is 75 miles in length from N. to S., and 65 in breadth, and has an area of 2,337 square miles. Population about 1,200,000. Distant about 685 miles by rail, and 620 by the Grand Trunk Road, from Calcutta.

PREVIOUS to the occurrence of the Mutiny, I had been residing at this station with my family for four years, having been transferred from Agra and appointed Head Assistant of the Commissariat Office here.

In March, 1857, my brother-in-law, Mr. F. Frost, who was also attached to the Commissariat, died at Calcutta, and it was arranged that my sister and the family should all come away to Cawnpore. I accordingly obtained leave and proceeded to Calcutta. While there no report regarding the disaffection of the sepoys at any of the stations in the North-Western Provinces reached us, otherwise it would have been safer for the family to have remained there. However, after completing all arrangements, we left Calcutta and proceeded by rail to Raneegunj on the 10th May, whence we continued our journey by horse-carriage dâk.

It is not necessary to detail here the privations and troubles we experienced on our way; suffice it to say they were great, the distance being upwards of 600 miles, having to travel night and day, and that in the hot month of May. There were eight of us in two carriages, *i. e.*, Mr. Frost's aged mother, his widow with infant son, a daughter named Emelina, aged 17 years, my orphan niece Martha Butavia, aged 18 years, and my brother Daniel, who had just attained his 22nd year; besides a native Christian girl of 5 years, whom the girls were bringing up.

On arriving at Futtehpoor, 48 miles from Cawnpore, we heard for the first time that a mutiny had broken out at Meerut and Delhi, and that the dâks were stopped. This information alarmed us not a little.

We reached home on the 15th May. The report we had heard at Futtelhpoor of the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi we found to be correct.

On the 17th I reported my return to the Commissariat officer, and at office heard many rumours of an alarming nature. Every body in the station seemed to think that something dreadful was to occur, but were unable to foresee what it was. The native troops at that time appeared to be placid and quiet as usual, but yet something indefinite and alarming overshadowed the minds of all. My first impulse was to send up to Agra the whole of my family by dâk, but the report that a very large body of Goojurs* was coming down from Delhi to Cawnpore, and had plundered a consignment of Commissariat stores on the way, deterred me from doing so, particularly as my wife would not consent to proceed unless accompanied by me, which was quite impracticable, as it was impossible for me to get a further extension of leave.

In this state of painful suspense three or four days passed by ; some of the European merchants and others engaged boats, intending to leave the station for Allahabad the moment any danger should become apparent. Others made arrangements to start by dâk, leaving house and property to the care of servants. Every person, according to his means and ability, entertained more chowdedars. Two or three of my friends actually left the station and managed to get away to Calcutta in safety.

About this time a large supply of *attah*, laden in boats, arrived from up-country and was sold at a cheap rate ; this flour was old and musty, and had a bad flavor when baked into cakes. Certain evil-minded people gave it out that the British Government, wishing to take the *caste* of the natives, had purposely sent down this flour mixed up with ground bones of cows and pigs. This report spread like wild fire all over the station ; the native troops got alarmed. On inquiry, however, nothing could be discovered ; some felt convinced that there was no deception in the flour, others did not.

I must observe here that most of the officers and military residents had, a few months previous to this period, removed to the east of the Ganges Canal, since the site of the Native Infantry lines had been transferred to that quarter, and where the new lines were then under erection. These new lines were not quite completed, and the sepoys had to live in tents, and had been so living for six months. This was another source of annoyance to them as their old lines were still standing, and they had to put up with the inconvenience of such comparatively slight shelter during the coldest

* Goojurs, a peculiar caste of natives, who in former years are said to have been a reckless, daring race of robbers.

months of the season. The hot winds had set in when the lines became partially habitable.

On the 19th of May, an indistinct, undefinable feeling of alarm, spread among the European community; the reason of this alarm could not be correctly ascertained, and we did not know what to do. Some said the sepoys were on the point of breaking out; others, that the "Goojurs" from Delhi were close at hand and would plunder Cawnpore. I sent to inquire from the European non-commissioned officers of the native corps to know if there was any truth in the first report, and found that everything there was as quiet as could be wished, so that the second report appeared to be the more probable of the two. In the evening I consulted a few friends, and concluded, from the unusually disturbed manner of the military authorities, that danger was apprehended, but from what quarter nobody could exactly tell. There was no fortified place for safety anywhere, save the Magazine, which was on the banks of the river, having a high pucca wall all round, and a spacious compound with several large roomy buildings in it, and every way adapted for our purpose under existing circumstances. This was, however, a great distance from the new cantonments, being more than five miles from the lines of the 53rd and 56th Native Infantry to the north, and it was understood that the military authorities did not consider it safe to leave the troops to themselves at so great a distance, particularly as at that time they did not show any open signs of rebellion.

As nearly all the military were on the east of the canal, the uncovenanted body and merchants found great difficulty in deciding how to manage for their own safety.

Many plans were proposed, but one was at last adopted, viz., to depute three or four persons to wait upon General Sir H. Wheeler, Commanding Cawnpore Division, and solicit his orders as to how we should act. The following day the deputation waited on the General, headed by Mr. J. D. Hay, merchant, and as I was at office all day I did not hear its result till late in the evening. I then learnt that the General was of opinion that there was no immediate cause of apprehension, but that in case of any sudden danger he directed every man of us (the non-military) to be provided with our own arms, that he could not point out any place on the west side of the canal where he could assemble, but that the ladies and children of officers and Christian military followers were to be sheltered in the two long barracks, in which the depôt of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment (consisting of the sick, invalids, women and children of the regiment serving at Lucknow) was located. The General desired us and our families to repair to these bungalows if necessitated to do so. This arrangement was not considered satisfactory, as we did not like the idea of remaining dispersed in our several quar-

ters, knowing that at the moment of actual danger great confusion would ensue. However, there was no help for it, and we set about arming ourselves; and it was proposed that in case of any sudden danger, should we not find time to make to the barracks, we were to assemble in Mr. Hay's shop, and all proceed in a body to the other place.

The night, however, passed off without anything occurring, and next morning, as usual after breakfast, I left home for my office at 10 A.M. On arrival there how great was our surprise to find the clerks (Bengalees) all in a state of panic, and ready to run back to their homes. On inquiry I learnt that our officer's wife had only that moment very hastily left the bungalow, accompanied by her ayah (maid) and child, all on foot, and that the officer had followed his wife, ordering his servants to have the carriage sent after them as fast as possible towards the depôt of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment. This the office baboos well knew was the place appointed, where the European community were to assemble in case of danger. On hearing this I called the officer's bearer, and asked him if he could tell me why his mistress had gone off in that hasty manner? He said he could not; but that a letter was brought to her, and immediately on looking into it she gave a scream, and hastily rising, handed it to the officer, then going into her room she brought out the ayah and child, and left the house. I guessed there was danger at hand, and sent a note to Mr. Hay to know if he had heard anything. The bearer returned with a verbal message from him, to the effect that he was just going away to the barracks, and desiring me to come there also. The man also stated that he met a great many conveyances with ladies and children going at full speed in the direction of the barracks.

This alarmed me a good deal, and leaving a note for Captain Williamson, I left, and found my family in a state of great anxiety. They had also seen several carriages pass in an unusually hurried manner, laden on top with boxes, &c., and could not make out the cause.

I had engaged two extra watchmen, who, together with my old chowkedar, promised to guard my house and property. We packed up a couple of light boxes with clothes and other necessities, and left the house in mine and Mrs. Osborne's palkee garries; on our way we met several of our acquaintances going in the same direction, who wished to know the cause of this sudden flight. I, of course, could not enlighten them in the least, as I did not know it myself.

However, we reached the barracks and found them crowded to excess. The European Artillery with the guns had also been moved up to it. It was with difficulty I could get a place sufficiently retired for my family, as we were almost the last comers; a kind

friend made room in a part of the verandah, just sufficient for us to sit down in. It was a very hot day, and our infants, who had only half an hour ago been enjoying the cool of *khuss tatties* and punkhas, were exposed to the hot winds and almost smothered in the laps of their mothers.

On inquiring into the cause of this alarm, some said that the guards placed over the Collector's Treasury in Nawabgunge, about six miles to the north of the barracks we were then in, had that morning refused to allow the whole of the treasure to be removed, a great many elephants having been sent to the place for that purpose; that they were heard to say they did not see the necessity for such a course, since they were perfectly loyal and would guard the treasure to the last; that otherwise they would consider that the officers had lost all confidence in them, in which case it would be just as well for them to go away to their homes. During this dispute it appeared from the behaviour and speech of the guard sepoy that they were ready to break out in open mutiny; others said, that a large body of "Goojurs," who were previously reported to be coming from Delhi, were within a short distance of this. Nothing correct, however, could be ascertained just then, and all waited in the utmost anxiety to learn the true cause.

About noon a great many persons suddenly rushed towards the west side of the barracks. I also joined them to know what it was. We saw a guard of troopers bringing in a prisoner; on inquiry it was found he was servant to a sepoy named Jawn Mahomed, of the 56th Regiment Native Infantry, who had sent him an hour ago to inform the 2nd Regiment Light Cavalry "to keep a look out as mischief was intended by the 'saheb logue' (officers)" and the 1st Company 6th Battalion Artillery guns were made ready, the gunners being on the point of firing upon the Cavalry lines." The prisoner, after a little hesitation, confessed all this, and gave up the name of his master, who was immediately apprehended, and a Court sat to investigate the matter. The charge was fully proved against him, the servant was released, and Jawn Mahomed had his hands and legs fettered and placed in our Quarter-Guard. He was to be hanged that evening, but the sentence could not be carried out for fear of exciting the sepoys.

Nothing further occurred that day. My servants brought our dinner from home which we ate in our palkee garree, and having sent for some bedding we slept in the verandah of the barrack. Early next morning (the 22nd May), everything appearing to be tranquil, the report of the coming of the Goojurs was found to be incorrect, and the native troops remaining quiet as usual, a general dispersion took place, and all returned to their homes.

About this time the Nana Sahib, a resident of Bithoor, offered

his services, and pretending to be a most faithful subject of Government, undertook to protect the treasury in conjunction with our own sepoy guard ; very great confidence appears to have been placed in him as his offer was accepted. He accordingly removed to a bungalow near the treasury, and with about 500 armed men in his employ, and two small guns, took charge of the place. In the mean time about a lac of rupees was withdrawn and placed in the intrenchment under the plea of meeting the salaries of the troops, &c., leaving about eight lacs and a half of money in the treasury at Nawabgunge.

A battery of Oude Horse Artillery and a regiment of Oude Irregular Cavalry had been ordered from Lucknow a few days previously, by General Wheeler, and quartered in different parts of the cantonment. Shortly after they were sent out towards Futtehgurh, to keep off the Goojurs reported to be advancing from Meerut upon that place and Cawnpore. This order having been given unexpectedly, they marched off at a little after midnight ; and as we had not heard anything of this movement, great was the alarm of my family when at dead of night the tramp of horses' hoofs which sounded as if thousands of mounted men were on the move, roused us up out of our beds. My chowkedars believed that the 2nd Light Cavalry had mutinied and were going off to Delhi. Our panic was great, but a short time after the truth was ascertained, and we were not a little thankful to learn that all was right up to that time, and we earnestly hoped and prayed that no outbreak might occur at Cawnpore. We could form some idea from this noise and confusion in our uneasy state, what would be the state of our minds when a general outbreak took place ; so terrific did the sound of the horses' hoofs appear to us at that time of general alarm.

General Wheeler employed two head informers, one of whom was named Buddreenauth, Cattle Gomashta of the Commissariat Department, a respectable and trustworthy Hindoo. These informers, on their part, engaged half a dozen men each, dressed in different disguises of the commonest class of people, some pretending to be vendors of wood, sweetmeats, fruits and tobacco, others as laborers and artisans, by which means they could easily mix with the sepoys and troopers and could hear all their conversation and consultations. Each man reported whatever he could gather during the day or night to his respective head informer, who, in their turn, informed the General ; thus he was enabled to learn what the intentions of the troops were.

This man, Buddreenauth, being a subordinate in my office, and having confidence in me, kept me duly informed, and a sign was passed between us that in case of any sudden determination of the native troops to break out, he would give me timely notice by send-

ing a piece of stick, a span long, by which I was to guess that the mutiny was begun, or was on the point of beginning.

In the mean while many consultations were held among the Christian non-military community to devise a plan for our safety, but we could not come to any decision. Mr. Hay again waited upon the General to propose that the best place of safety for all classes appeared to be the magazine, begging that the same should be secured. He was told that could not be, for certain reasons of his (the General's) own and of the military authorities under him, but that it was arranged that the magazine would be blown up as soon as the mutiny broke out, and we should all take refuge in the intrenchment. This was about the 25th May.

About this time my office had been removed into a bungalow on the east side of the canal. I went often to see the progress made in the intrenchments, but it was very slow, and the position taken by our officers did not at all satisfy the European non-military community. Some of the merchants talked very bitterly of the way their property was to be exposed, whilst the officers, they said, solely to save their own bungalows and property, had selected this spot for their intrenchment, knowing that in case of an outbreak the insurgents should be afraid to plunder the houses on the east side of the canal for fear of the guns of the European Artillery.

I cannot say whether this was the real motive of the officers ; perhaps they did not like to abandon the native troops to themselves by removing to so great a distance before they had really resolved upon rebellion. This I know, however, that had the magazine been selected for our garrison, the enemy could never have got possession of a single gun, and the treasury might also have been saved, as it was within range of a 24-pounder gun. Besides, the advantages to be derived from the Ganges flowing under our feet, the river communication to Allahabad might have been preserved, as also the road to Lucknow across would have been open to us. Having high masonry walls all round, the enemy would never have dared to attack, or annoy us, merely with musketry.

Considering that little or no safety was to be expected from the intrenchment under preparation, my office people advised me not to go there with my family, but to hide ourselves in the city ; as in the event of an attack from the native troops, all others save those in the intrenchment, would be overlooked. This advice seemed to me feasible, and I engaged two houses in the city at different localities, not in my own name, but in that of Buddcreenath, who told the people he expected his friends from other stations. It was our intention to put on native clothes and go into one of the houses, where, of course, our servants and others would be able to trace us ; but in a day or two, by removing into the other houses by ourselves

at night, we should be lost sight of. But in this arrangement a serious difficulty presented itself. How was I to go to office daily? for I must attend to my duties as long as everything went on quietly. However, the plan of having native dresses ready at hand was not abandoned, and my poor wife and nieces and sister in their anxiety to have a suit each, without delay, set about it themselves; it was considered a great object not to let anybody know of it, so very coarse cloth, such as the native women of the lower classes wear, was purchased through our old woman servant (a Hindoo) named Thakooranee, whose old clothes were taken for a pattern; and the poor creatures, putting aside everything else, set about preparing their suits, after shutting themselves up in a room. When one suit was finished, I was desired to give my opinion, and thought it would answer very well. It was pitiful to see the diligence and earnestness with which one and all engaged in the task; they took scarcely any food in their anxiety, and when all was finished it appeared as if a heavy load was removed from their minds. Alas! all this labour was in vain, for an opportunity to use these clothes never occurred. While these dresses were under preparation, many plans were arranged among themselves as to how each should conduct herself at the time of need: all appeared to think they could very well pass off, even if compelled to show their faces; but how was Ellen, my poor wife, and our two children to manage, she being of European parentage, and the children also fairer than native children? This was a source of much uneasiness.

All this while alarming reports continued to fly about the station daily, and we lived in perpetual anxiety and dread. Our side of the station was nearly deserted; as almost all the European inhabitants had removed to the east side of the canal near the barracks. We did not go on account of the inconvenience, being assured of getting timely notice from Buddreenauth, Gomashta. This man appeared to think there was no fear of an outbreak, as nearly the whole of the infantry sepoys were disinclined to mutiny, though they seemed quite undecided after hearing the reports of the manner in which the troops at Barrackpore and Meerut had been dealt with. One thing they appeared to be determined on, *i. e.*, not to receive the greased cartridges on any account. The 2nd Cavalry was, however, quite prepared to leave Cawnpore, and many troopers were heard to say amongst themselves that they were no longer the Company's servants—they owned no other master save the king of Delhi, who was their true and only Sovereign, being a true believer and a Moslem. This corps was negotiating with the three infantry regiments to join in their wicked design, and only appeared to wait an opportunity to break out into open rebellion.

It was now clearly understood from the reports received from

time to time from the informers, that the native troops, whenever they might make up their minds to break out, had no intention to attack the English or molest the Christian community of Cawnpore. It was their intention to proceed at once to Delhi, after possessing themselves of all the Government money in the treasury, which they intended as a present to their new king.

Under this supposition the European merchants and non-military Christian residents of the station, though they had at first provided themselves with boats and other means of escape from Cawnpore, were induced to abandon the idea of deserting the place, as the General was of opinion that if all continued to remain as before, the troops, in all probability, would not mutiny, and permission was accorded to all of us to take shelter with our families in the intrenchments.

The General at the same time took the precaution to direct the Commissariat to lay in within the intrenchment a supply of attah, dhal, ghee, salt, rice, tea, sugar, rum, and malt liquor, &c., &c., calculated to last for 30 days for about a thousand persons, which was accordingly done, although not *quite* in *full*.

On or about the 30th May, a report of an outbreak at, and destruction of, the cantonments of Lucknow reached us, and seeing a great many dâk carriages and other conveyances with fugitives flying from that station, we were not a little alarmed; and as the house we had removed into was in a rather solitary spot and not quite comfortable, we removed into another, on the old grand parade opposite to Christ Church. Here a strong detachment of the 2nd Light Cavalry was picqueted a short distance in front of our gate; and I directed my servants to have an eye upon their movements. Everything passed on quietly, until the 3rd June, at 5 P.M. of that day. After my return from office, dinner was brought on table, and we had just sat down to it, when an old servant, in a state of alarm, walked in and desired me to come and see something. I was very hungry and told him to wait till dinner was over; he stood a little while, and not wishing to alarm the family, advanced up and whispered in my ear—"Something dreadful is about to take place immediately." This was overheard by my wife, sitting the nearest to me; she got up at once in the greatest alarm, and we all joined her. On looking out we could see, about the distance of half a mile, a great body of men coming from the west side to the direction of our house, and the cavalry picquet with two guns and several gun carriages drawn by horses among them. The cavalry picquet at the same time appeared in great commotion, the troopers were seen loading their pistols in a great hurry, and saddling their horses, waiting apparently undecided whether to mount and bolt away or stay.

Seeing these things, the girls, as well as the rest, became exceedingly alarmed. I found it impossible to pacify them, not knowing what I was to do for their safety ; however, telling them to go and prepare for flight and trust in God for help. I went as far as the compound gate ; a few of the troopers of the picquet were already mounted. All appeared to be in a state of alarm and quite at a loss how to account for this sudden arrival of the guns. On looking well, I saw a European officer riding alongside of these guns, which reassured me not a little, for I knew these could be none but friends ; the battery in the meantime passed on towards the direction of the intrenchment—it was the 3rd Oude battery, which a week or six days ago had been sent, together with the Oude Irregular Cavalry to Futteghurh, returning to Cawnpore on finding that the Irregular Cavalry had murdered its officers on the way and gone off to Delhi. After it had passed the cavalry picquet, a great mob was collected on the parade-ground to know the cause of these guns coming in ; I also walked up to them to make inquiries. I met two or three troopers mixed up with the mob, and by their talk it appeared that they felt as if a great load of anxiety was removed from their minds ; they thought (guilty consciences made them think so) that these guns had been brought to blow them up, but now this fear having been removed they began to talk big about themselves. I took an opportunity to remark that “the Oude Irregular Cavalry previous to its accompanying this battery was considered quite loyal and was sent under that impression to Futteghurh ; what then had induced it to mutiny and kill its officers ?” This remark of mine was the cause of eliciting a great many others from the troopers, who just at that time were thrown off their guard and commenced mentioning all that was working upon their minds. One said that “it was quite clear there was treachery on the part of the officers who,” he said “had attempted to disarm them and to take away their horses, and, failing in that, had ordered them to go into the intrenchment to receive their pay *in undress*, and without arms ; but the troopers,” he assured me with a shake of the head, “were wide awake, and would not be taken in so easily.” Another said, that “if there is no treachery meditated by the officers, why are they intrenching themselves ? If the officers deal fairly with us as before, we will never do anything wrong ; no, but they wish to take away our caste by many stratagems ;” then, turning round to his comrades, he said, “see what deep plots are being laid against us : they know that we will never receive the new cartridges, and therefore flour, mixed with cows’ and pigs’ bones, are sent from Roorkee to make us *badhurrum*.” * A third said, “I see it all quite clear, the officers have no faith in us ; how they attempted to remove

the native guard and place Europeans over the magazine and treasury. The native corps have been so long considered trustworthy, and now all of a sudden they are to be mistrusted." By this time I was well surrounded on all sides by the troopers, and I endeavoured to pacify them, by saying that they were labouring under a mistake ; that by taking their caste Government would gain nothing, since they could not serve for less pay, or give more work, and so forth. But they became vehement and reminded me of what had occurred at Meerut, "because some of the troopers had refused to bite the new cartridge they were severely punished and degraded in irons and sent to work on the roads with 10 years' imprisonment." "Thus," he said, "we shall all be treated as soon as an European force is sent to Cawnpore, so we will not wait till then ; as it is, we are degraded to the lowest degree ; for the other night only, an officer fired upon a small picquet of ours when going its rounds, and the court passed it off by saying that the officer was mad : if we, natives, had fired upon a European, we should have been hanged," (this was true, for a few nights ago an officer was walking about on the plain when all this occurred, and the court decided that he was not in his right mind). Seeing that the troopers were getting very warm on the subject, and would give no heed to my persuasions, I said, "you are all bent upon your own destruction, for where will you get so good and honorable a service as the British?" To this an immediate reply was given: "we are Mussulmen, and we will serve a sovereign of our own caste, who will know how to treat us as we deserve." One man in particular, with ferocious whiskers and moustachios, was more vehement than the rest ; he said, "he and his comrades had made up their minds, and that their motto was *suffun suffa*, i. e. make a clearance," and he in his vehement and excited state lifted both his hands above his head, and waving them in a significant manner, went on repeating the word "*suffun suffa*," he said, "he would first begin with his own wife and children, and then all who came before him would be "*suffun suffa*." Finding that nothing would do, and that they kept me surrounded, I said, "if you are determined to do all these things, why should you hurt or molest those who are in noway connected with your affairs, such as the merchants, clerks, and others and their families, for they have done you no harm." On hearing this the ferocious man said, "Oh you are all one, all of the same breed. You are serpents, and not one of you shall be spared." This was going too far, and immediately a man who appeared to be a havildar or naick, stepped up and said, "do not listen to what this foolish fellow says. You go about your business, and don't come amongst us." By this time several joined him in urging me to go away. I was glad of this, for I wanted nothing better than to get away from amongst such ruffian-

looking fellows. As I was moving on, one fellow in a jesting manner called out, "Oh you have nothing to fear from us—just go and put on the garb of a Mussulman, take a short stout stick in your hand, and come out boldly; you have nothing to do but to twist your moustachios and repeat the word "*Ul-hum-do-lillah rub bala lamy*" (a part of their prayers), "and you will do well." Upon this all burst out laughing. I, however, appeared to take no notice of this speech, and kept moving on towards my house, but I could hear the subadar giving them a good setting down for being so open to me. He said, "don't you know he is one of them, and will go and inform against us." I lost what more he said, for I left them and entered my gate.

On my return home, I found all in the utmost anxiety and quite impatient to leave the bungalow and go away anywhere rather than stay there. It was agreed that as no other place of safety could be thought of, we should go to the intrenchment. Both mine and Mrs. Osborne's carriages were made ready, and the fright of the females was so great that they would not delay even to take a suit of extra clothes for themselves and children, a few pieces of baby linen were merely taken in a small wooden box, which also contained all our jewels, cash, &c., and when leaving, I thought of a settrinee (carpet) about nine feet by seven, which I also put in, and it proved to be of great service to us afterwards during the whole time we were in the intrenchment. Notwithstanding all our endeavours to reach the intrenchment as early as possible, it was half-past 7 o'clock when we arrived. I mentioned to several persons all that had occurred to me that evening. But what was to be done? we had no European troops to send out, so as to be a check upon the native corps.

As it was not considered safe to keep any public money under the sepoy guard, the Commissariat Officer had removed, on the 3rd June, into the intrenchment the office treasure chest containing about Rs. 34,000, and a much larger amount in Government Promissory Notes, being security deposits of gomashas and contractors attached to the division. I also removed from the office my most important books and papers, amongst which were all my testimonials, as also a note book of Commissariat Regulations I had been engaged in compiling during my leisure hours for the last six or eight years, and had almost completed it; all have since been lost!

I have omitted to mention that a company of Her Majesty's 32nd had been sent to General Wheeler by Sir Henry Lawrence, from Lucknow, as we had but one company of European artillery (60 in number) and a few of the convalescent and disabled men of the 32nd Regiment with the dépôt, at that time attached to the station of Cawnpore, the rest of the troops being natives. The

above addition, therefore, to our European force was very acceptable; and when, on the 1st June, the joyful intelligence spread through the station that a small reinforcement of European troops (two companies of Her Majesty's 84th and 15 men of the Madras Fusiliers) from Allahabad had just reached by bullock train, it cheered our spirits not a little. The knowledge that Lucknow needed a great deal more Europeans than Cawnpore, induced General Wheeler to order one of the companies of the 84th, and a portion of the 32nd foot to march to Lucknow, which they did on the morning of the 3rd June. A further detachment of about 50 men was dispatched by bullock train on the night of that date, so that we were left almost as bad as before.

"At this time the unwonted sight of the corpse of a lady and gentleman floating down the river created much excitement."

CHAPTER II.

It may be as well to mention here who this Nana Saheb, "Raja of Bithoor," as he is called, is.

He is the eldest son by adoption of the late Badjee Rao, ex-Paishwa of Poonah and Sittarah, a Maharatta by *caste*. Badjee Rao had no children of his own. "By the Hindoo *Shasters* or scriptures there is a fearful doom awarded to those who die childless, and, in order to remedy this defect, the system of adoption when natural issues fail is permitted."

It was in accordance with this that Badjee Rao, finding himself childless as to male issues, though he had two daughters, adopted two boys (sons of two different Bramins of his own caste), whose names were Dhoondoo Punth, Nana Saheb; and Sudda Shew Rao, Dada Saheb.

These he brought up as his own sons, but the latter, Dada Saheb, having died before reaching maturity and without leaving issue, Badjee Rao replaced him by adopting the younger brother of Nana Dhoondoo Punth in his stead, named Bala Saheb; at the same time remedying the defect on the part of the deceased Dada Saheb, by taking Rao Saheb (a cousin of the Nana) as adopted son of the said deceased, who in consequence became the grandson of Badjee Rao and nephew to Nana and Bala Sahebs.

"Badjee Rao, as chief of the powerful Maharatta nation, had been a great sovereign in his day. He had surrendered himself to the East India Government upon the provision of a pension to be settled upon himself and his family, of not less than eight lacs of Rupees

(£80,000) per annum. He exercised power in a limited scale at Bithoor for 35 years. On the 28th January, 1851, he died, declaring by his will Nana Dhoondoo Punth to be his eldest son, heir, and representative."

"No sooner was Badjee Rao's death made officially known than Lord Dalhousie ruled that the pension should not be continued to the latter. The Nana, Badjee Rao's widows, and the other members of his family were naturally stricken with grief. Nana Dhoondoo Punth forwarded a memorial to the Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces of India, on the subject; in reply he was told that the pension could not be continued, but that a certain tract of land would be his for life—which he was not satisfied with."

"After some further efforts in India, the Nana addressed the Court of Directors in England in December 1852; about a year afterwards, it was decided that the Nana should not get anything. An oriental named Azimoolah Khan was then sent to England in 1855 for the purpose of making a last appeal in behalf of his employer, Nana Dhoondoo Punth. He resided in London for two years, formed respectable acquaintances, and was entertained in style and shewed himself a well-bred, agreeable and gentlemanly person, and well informed on European affairs. Failing in his endeavours, he returned to India breathing revenge in his heart." How far he succeeded in this, will be seen as I go on with my narrative.

This Azimoolah Khan was a charity boy, having been picked up, together with his mother during the famine of 1837-38; they were both in a dying state from starvation. The mother being a staunch Mahomedan, would not consent to her son (then quite a boy) being christened. He was educated in the Cawnpore Free School under Mr. Paton, schoolmaster, and received a subsistence of Rs. 3 per month. His mother earned her own livelihood by serving as ayah or maidservant. After 10 years' study, Azimoolah was raised to be a teacher in the same school, and two years after he was made over, as a moonshee, to Brigadier Scott, who in his turn made him over to his successor (when leaving the station), Brigadier the Hon'ble Ashburnham, when Azimoolah misbehaved himself and was turned out under an accusation of bribery and corruption; subsequently he attached himself to the Nana. Thus these two low wretches, the one a mendicant Brahmin's son, and the other a charity boy, got together, and committed such fearful and sad havoc among so many Europeans, including helpless women and children! Such is the true history of the birth and parentage of this miscreant Nana and of his agent Azimoolah Khan. The Nana was known to consider himself aggrieved by being denied Badjee Rao's pension, but he maintained outward relations of civility with the Europeans, gave excellent entertainments to the officers and ladies of the station, and was on

friendly and intimate terms with many. He seemed to have inspired our Magistrate and Collector, Mr. Hillersdon, with such confidence that that gentleman decided on placing his own family, as well as some other families, under the Nana's protection just before the mutiny broke out ; but the ladies would not agree, and took refuge in the intrenchment. It was in consequence of this great confidence in him that he was appointed guardian of the treasury in Nawabgunge, and permitted to have a retinue of 500 cavalry and infantry under his entire control, by whose help he was also enabled to secure the magazine when the mutineers had marched away from the station.

We slept undisturbed on the night of the 4th June, until about two hours after midnight, when a great bustle and collection of people in the part of the verandah we were in, roused me from my slumber, and starting up, I inquired "what is the matter?" A motion of the hand pointing towards the 2nd Light Cavalry lines, accompanied with the words "listen," was all the explanation I could get. By this time my family were all up and had joined some other friends who had assembled on the spot, at a loss to think what was going to happen. In directing my attention towards the cavalry lines, a suppressed noise could be heard as of a large body of troops making preparations for a march ; we all guessed that the cavalry had broken out into open rebellion, and presently a great sound of horses' hoofs and noise of men, some calling to one another and others shouting. At the same time a blaze of fire in that direction made us aware that the troopers had mounted their horses and left their lines after setting fire to the bungalow of their Ridingmaster. An alarm gun was immediately fired from our camp, and the non-military Christian community, who were outside the intrenchment in tents and in the soldiers' church* and other buildings close by, all came in, in great confusion.

On hearing the report of our gun, the troopers immediately altered their course, and instead of following up the road to the 1st Infantry lines, they took the one through the city, and coming to the Commissariat cattle-yard they took possession of the Government elephants, thirty-six in number, and set fire to the Cattle Sergeant's bungalow.

While passing through the city, the cavalry men were heard by the city people to express great joy at having got their liberty, telling the inhabitants not to be at all alarmed as they were not going to molest any one just then ; but that after reaching Delhi and paying their respects to their lawful and mighty king, they would be back before the expiration of that month invested with orders and headed by one of the royal princes, and then they would see if they could not keep Cawnpore for their great king.

* St. John's chapel.

The troopers of the cavalry were ripe for mutiny on the night of the 3rd June, but their subadar-major managed to keep them down, and endeavoured his best to prevent the outbreak. The men wavered awhile and allowed the next day to pass in this state ; at last they shook off the subadar-major's authority, and directed him to accompany them on pain of immediate death. He, however, steadily refused, and said he would neither go with them himself nor sanction their doing so. Some of the ring-leaders, therefore, fell on him with their swords, and inflicting several deep cuts, left him as dead. Life was not quite extinct when his body was brought away in the morning into our intrenchment by some of the officers, where he died after a few days.

Whilst the main body proceeded towards Nawabgunge, a few of the ring-leaders went to the lines of the 1st Regiment Native Infantry, and used their persuasive powers so well as to succeed in getting the men (who were mostly young recruits, the old hands being away on leave or on command) to join them. It is to be spoken to the credit of the men of the 1st N. I. that when they agreed to go away with the mutineers they first begged of their officers (who had been for some time in the habit of sleeping in the Quarter-Guard of the regiment to ensure confidence) to leave them, and ultimately forced them to go away into the intrenchment without hurting them. Every bungalow that fell in their way towards Nawabgunge was set fire to and destroyed.

After these corps had passed away we remained in anxious suspense to hear if the 53rd and 56th, on the south side of us, would also leave their lines and join the rest ; but they remained in *statu quo*, probably undecided what to do. At about 7 o'clock A.M. three or four officers went on horseback towards the Assembly Rooms, and on their return the 3rd Oude Horse Battery was ordered to pursue the rebels accompanied by a company of European soldiers. They went as far as the canal, but were recalled owing to an apprehension that the 53rd and 56th Native Infantry might attack us in the rear. These showed signs at 9 o'clock of their also joining in the rebellion, and about half an hour after, nearly the whole of the native commissioned officers, about 30 or 35 in number, came to the General and reported that their remonstrances to the sepoys were of no avail, as they had also that morning been tampered with by the cavalry, and appeared determined to go off. While they were yet speaking, a bugle sounded, and presently after we could see the two regiments drawn up on their parade-ground ; but a shot or two from our guns immediately dispersed them, and sent them at a run round their lines on the Grand Trunk road. The native commissioned officers were then told to take position in the artillery hospital opposite to us on the east side, and endeavour

to draw back those of the sepoys and native non-commissioned officers who, they said, were not inclined to go but were reluctantly compelled to join; these officers went away, with one or two exceptions, and we never heard any more about them.

Carts were sent at noon to bring in from the sepoy lines the muskets, &c., of the men on leave, as also the baggage and property of the Christian drummers, who with their families had all come to seek protection in the intrenchment.

It is reported that when the mutineers reached Nawabgunge, the *Nana* came out to receive them, and taking them with him proceeded to the treasury where he had all the Government elephants well laden with the public money, and while this was being done, word was brought that the two other regiments (53rd and 56th N. I.) were also coming to join him. This so pleased the *Nana* that he gave up the remaining cash as a general plunder to the rebels, after which they set fire to the records and to the building, and destroyed the Collector's kutchery. They then entered the jail and set all the prisoners at liberty.

This done, the whole mob moved on to the magazine, which, unfortunately, had not been permitted by the sepoy guard, placed there, to be blown up, where they halted until carts and other carriage could be procured from the city and neighbouring villages; they then loaded their baggage, and took as many small arms and ammunition as they could, and marched off in the afternoon to Kulleanpore, one stage or nine miles on the road towards Delhi, evidently with the full intention of going to that station, leaving a small detachment of cavalry to complete the work of destruction—*i. e.*, firing the remaining bungalows that had been missed during the day—which work they continued to perform nearly the whole night.

About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of that day, the 5th June, a stiffened corpse of a European was brought into the intrenchment in a cart by some natives, which was recognized as belonging to Mr. Murphy of the E. I. Railway, the body was pierced with three bullet shots, two in the back and one in the head. This poor man had gone in the morning to his bungalow on the railway line and was engaged in conducting some business, when his servants seeing the 53rd and 56th Native Infantry moving in a mass in that direction, his bungalow being right in their way to the place they were going, gave the alarm; he ordered his horse to be brought, and ere he could mount, the mutineers were close upon him. He, however, galloped off in our direction, but the wretches fired a volley after him, and three shots took effect as above. His friends and companions gave his remains a burial in the Soldiers' Church compound, the minister performing the usual ceremony. The sight of this corpse roused the

feelings of the men and officers in the intrenchment to a high degree, and at 5 o'clock all the non-military and uncovenanted body were mustered and arranged under several sections. Arms and ammunition were served out, from a pile of arms which had been brought away from the sepoy lines.

That same day the golundazes of the 3rd Oude Horse Battery shewed signs of disaffection, and were sent away from our intrenchment after being disarmed. Had these not left, I was told the General would have sent two guns to Nawabgunge to prevent the mutineers returning, as due information of their movements was brought to our camp. But being well assured, according to the reports previously made by the informers, that the rebels did not contemplate attacking us, no further precaution appears to have been deemed necessary; otherwise this would have been a good opportunity to set fire to the large quantity of powder remaining in the magazine; and it was a pity it was lost.

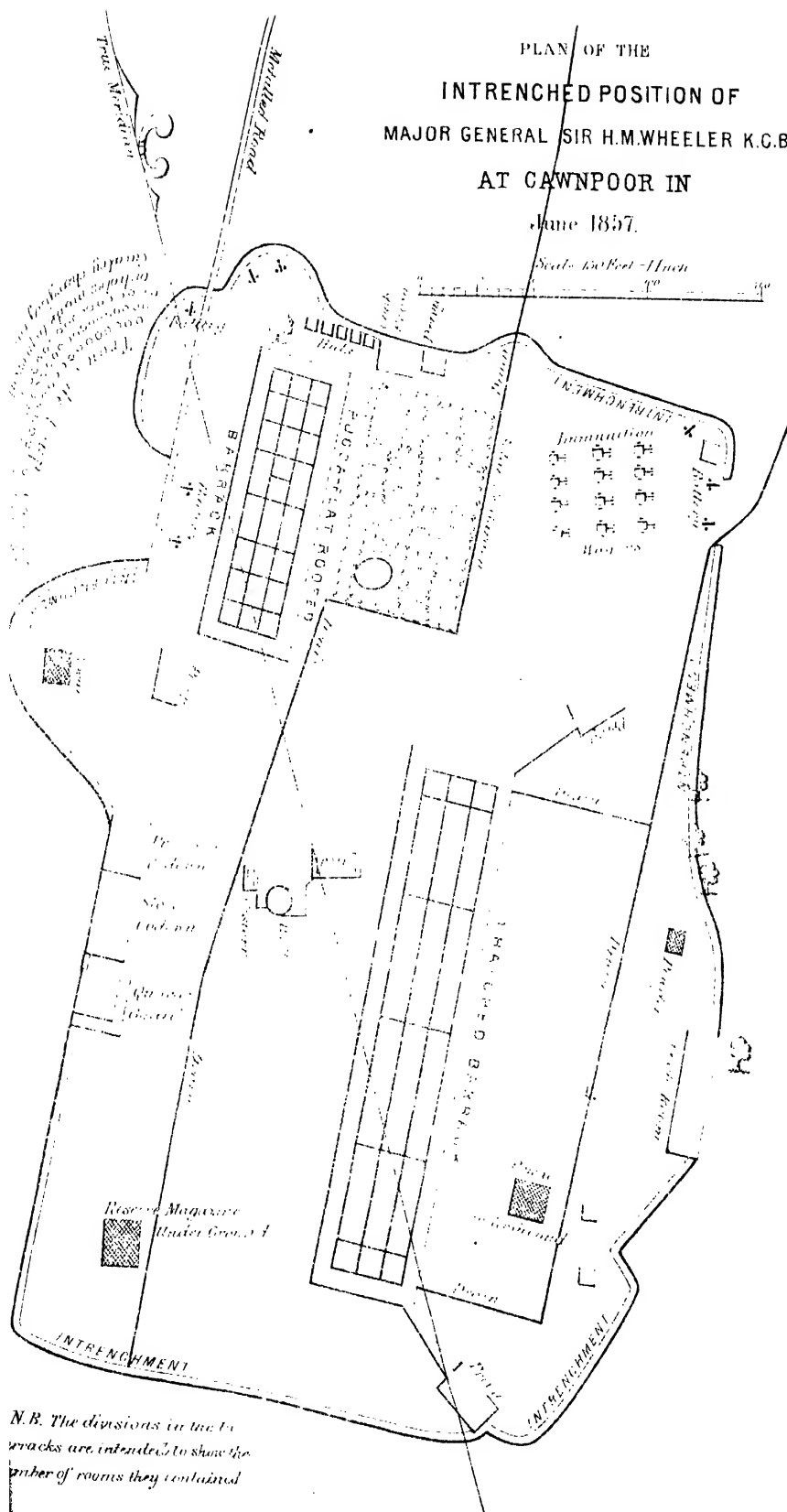
At candle-light we of the Militia were directed to take our posts in the trenches for the night, and to stand sentry by turns. How vivid is the recollection to me of this night, being the first time I was called upon to perform military duty. It reminded me of my worthy parent, and of the many little anecdotes of his military career, which he used to relate to us. My feelings were strongly blended with anxiety and hope, and when, taking leave for the night, I looked upon the faces of my poor wife and children and the dear creatures whom I had so lately brought away from Calcutta to meet a fearful death, what pain—what anguish of heart—I felt at the time! But hope in the mercy of God enabled me to place all my cares into His hands. Of one thing I was glad: I had followed the example of all who were considered to be sensible and wise, in taking up my lot among them, and not remaining away with so many of my family in the city or elsewhere.

Perhaps it would make our position more clear and the plans attached more comprehensible, if I give a short account of the unfortunate locality that had been selected by General Wheeler, and of the inadequate means that had been taken to secure it. The two barracks in which we were located, as I stated before, were in an extensive plain at the south end of the station, and were used as an hospital for the sick of the European Dragoon regiment when located at Cawnpore some years ago. These barracks were single-storied buildings, the longer of the two was thatched, and both had a flat-roofed arcade with apartments, surrounded by very strong sloping verandahs made of beams and solid masonry—the walls were of brick two feet thick, and several out-houses were attached to the buildings. There was only one pucca well in the centre of the compound. Around these barracks a trench was being dug, it was

PLAN OF THE
INTRENCHED POSITION OF
MAJOR GENERAL SIR H.M. WHEELER K.C.B.
AT CAWNPOOR IN

June 1857.

Scale: 100 Feet = 1 Inch



N.B. The divisions in the barracks are intended to show the number of rooms they contained

commenced upon on or about the 25th May, the loose earth was thrown up on the outside, intended to form a parapet, but scarcity of labour and the stiffness of the soil, which at that time of the season was almost as hard as rock, rendered the task a tedious one, and slow of progress. The earth thus thrown up had not been beaten down nor was water sprinkled over it to make it solid; thus the parapet, which was about four feet high, was not even bullet proof at the crest, over which in many places sand bags were placed, to admit of the sentries keeping watch both day and night. Embrasures were likewise left for the guns, which were in a manner almost unprotected, and one may imagine what slight cover an intrenchment of this kind would furnish the men in the trenches. As for the barracks, they had none at all, and were quite exposed. A covering of tiles was hastily thrown over the thatched barrack to prevent its easily catching fire, and just a little of one corner of it remained to complete when the mutiny broke out, and the work-people all stopped work both in the trenches and in the barracks.

Besides the military there were a large number of European residents in cantonments connected with the Civil, Railway, Canal, and other Departments. There were also the whole of the soldiers' wives and children of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment at Cawnpore, the corps itself being stationed at Lucknow. The *exact* strength of our people cannot be given except that of the European soldiers, which I have subsequently compared with daily indents in the possession of a native Commissariat agent. From memory, however, I can say that we had the following number, viz. :

	Sergts.	Corpls.	Ptes.	Musi- cians.	Total.
1st Company 6th Battalion Artillery,	12	12	38	1	63
1st Madras Fusiliers, ...	1	1	13	0	15
Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, ...	7	5	71	1	84
Her Majesty's 84th Regiment, ...	3	3	42	0	48
1st Regiment Native Infantry, ...	0	0	0	18	18
53rd Regiment Native Infantry, ...	0	0	0	11	11
56th Regiment Native Infantry, ...	0	0	0	15	15
Total, ...					254
Officers of above and on Staff, &c., about.....					100
Non-Military, about.....					100
Total men,.....					454
Ladies and children of Officers, about.....					100
Families of soldiers and musicians, about.....					156
Families of non-military, &c., about.....					120—376
Loyal sepoy and native officers, about.....					20
Servants who remained, about.. ..					50 70
Total, about ...					900

We had eight small guns in all with us, none above nine-pounders, except the two belonging to the Oude Battery, and a quantity of ammunition had also previously been brought away from the magazine and buried under ground. It was a matter of great regret, when we were besieged, that no longer guns, or even a few mortars and howitzers, had been provided; had such been the case, the enemy could not have dared to bring their batteries so close to our camp as they did, to annoy us with impunity. The Nana was well aware how we were situated with regard to our artillery, as he had paid several visits to the intrenchment previous to the outbreak, and had walked through the entire camp in company with many of the officers; and even on the very eve of the mutiny he was seen walking about the intrenchment in terms of great intimacy with one of the civil servants and other gentlemen. Besides this traitor, this wolf in sheep's clothing, the golundazes of the 3rd Oude Horse Battery had had every opportunity of seeing all our arrangements as they progressed from day to day, and had marked every point.

It is very clear that soon after the arrival of the Nana from Bithoor, after he had been placed in charge of the treasury at Nawabgunge, that both he and his brother Bala, with the help of some of their employes, began to tamper with the troops, and succeeded in effectually corrupting the fidelity of the 2nd Cavalry and the 1st Native Infantry; but it was only when the mutiny broke out and the plunder of Government treasure took place, that, prompted by Bala and others, a deputation of some of the native officers waited on the Nana, and invited him in the following words to take the command of the rebel army, and to lead them on to Delhi:—“Maharaj, a kingdom awaits you if you join our course, but death if you side with our enemies;” to which he promptly replied, “What have I to do with the British? I am altogether yours.” Then, laying his hands on the heads of the native officers, he swore to join them, and when quite satisfied, they departed with their respective corps to Kullianpore: thus it is evident that up to this time there was no understanding come to in regard to attacking General Wheeler; or where would have been the necessity for marching away from the station? It was the golundazes of the 3rd Oude Battery, as stated above, who, when they received their discharge proceeded to the Nana's quarters and represented to him the advantages likely to be derived by attacking the English in their intrenchments; since there was so large a quantity of powder and guns of different sizes, with other ammunition quite at hand, besides the 35 or 40 boat-loads of shot and shell lying in the canal. These boats, on account of the unsettled state of the country, were unable to proceed to Roorkee, where they had originally been consigned from Cawnpore, and had only just returned. A consultation was

then held between the Nana and his advisers, in which Bala Rao and Azimoolah took the lead. The folly of going to Delhi, where every one of them was likely to lose his individual influence and power, was discussed, and it was unanimously agreed that the Nana was the proper person to assume the sovereignty in these Provinces, and that so good an opportunity of attacking the British should not be allowed to slip away, it being confidently assumed that within two hours the intrenchment would be conquered and the Europeans destroyed. Accordingly the Nana proceeded to Kullianpore, and told the mutineers he would double the amount of pay they received from the British Government if they would agree to stay and fight, as by doing so they would get great praise, and it would be a grand thing to gain a complete victory over the British at Cawnpore; that the king of Delhi would make much of them, and he himself (Nana) would reward them with a gold bracelet to each sepoy worth a hundred rupees. During the night the several corps were officered; Teeka Singh, Soobadar of the 2nd Cavalry, being appointed Brigadier-General of the forces.

Early next morning, the 6th June, the whole of the mutineers, headed by the Nana, and assisted by his brothers and Azimoolah, returned to Cawnpore, and securing all the magazine work-people, lascars and others, made them assist in putting up a few heavy guns in serviceable order, and employing Government bullocks, brought out about half a dozen guns (two of which were 18-pounders, and the others smaller), and proceeded to attack General Wheeler's garrison. On their way they fired guns against the house of Auzum Ali, said to be possessed of an immense sum of money acquired by him while in the king of Oude's service. The mutineers then surrounded his house and took the old man and his two sons as prisoners. Shots were likewise fired against the house of the Nunneh Nawab, who was also taken prisoner and his property plundered. An old gentleman (European) with his wife and two children, of 14 and 16 years of age, found secreted in a house, were taken and shot in front of the dāk bungalow.

When the rebel force had passed the assembly rooms and moved up to the canal, a council was held as to the best position to be taken for their battery for attacking the garrison. In the meantime, some five or six harmless old pensioners and others, who were hiding in the Mogul Serai on the banks of the canal close by, were brought out and murdered. The large guns were then placed in battle array against the English intrenchment, and at exactly half-past 10 A.M. opened fire. All that day and night a most murderous fire was kept up. The enemy fully expected that a couple of hours' good firing with heavy guns would destroy the English garrison, and that entire possession of the intrenchment would be taken

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by the Nana, who had made a vow not to alight from his horse until the intrenchment of the Europeans was taken, being fully persuaded that it could not withstand such bombardment very long ; but when the evening arrived, and no sign appeared of our defeat or surrender, he was obliged to alight, and causing a carpet to be spread in a deep ditch near one of his batteries, there he passed the night. The following morning, finding little or no hope of success, he removed into Mr. Duncan's hotel.

While the mutineers were engaged in bringing guns, &c., from the magazine on the 6th June, intimation was received by General Wheeler of the movements of the enemy, and every preparation was made accordingly for our defence. The first shot of the enemy was fired at half-past 10 o'clock A.M., and immediately a bugle sounded in our camp "all hands to arms," and accordingly every individual, from a drummer to the regimental officer, presented himself under the mounds of the intrenchment. Here we sat nearly all day exposed to the hot winds and scorching rays of the sun of the month of June, every moment expecting an open-handed attack from the infantry and cavalry. This the enemy, however, never attempted, though at times large bodies of armed men could be seen collected in different places. Our artillery kept up a brisk fire and returned nearly every shot of the mutineers. In the meantime the latter commenced setting fire to the bungalows on the east, or our side of the canal, bringing round their guns closer up to us behind the Riding-school, and the compound walls of buildings most suited to them. The distance, however, of the enemy's batteries was too great to admit of their taking good aim, and only a few shots took effect upon our barrack that day, though the firing was incessant. No musketry was fired upon us that day. It was pitiful to see those who had all their lifetime been accustomed to enjoy *khus tatties* and *punkhas* during the hot weather, and who never ventured out in the hot winds except in a covered conveyance, thus pitilessly exposed a whole day to the powerful heat of the sun—some covering their heads with cloth dipped in water, others put up a temporary shelter of empty boxes, sheets, &c.

This day we had no food from home as our servants could not bring us any. Nobody was inclined to take any dinner from the great anxiety and alarm all felt during the whole of that terrible day. When Daniel and myself got leave to go and see our family, at 7 P.M., oh ! how melancholy and yet joyful was our meeting ! it appeared as if we had been separated for a long period ; and how glad were my wife and the girls to find we had escaped unhurt ! After staying an hour with them and consoling them the best way we could, we took leave for the night, and returned to our post, which was at the west end of the trenches ; here we were directed to sleep

with our arms near us, and to take our turns of the watch during the night. My turn for sentry in the trenches was fixed to be at 1 o'clock, but some of the volunteers having skulked away into the barracks, these arrangements were disturbed. I was roused at midnight, and told to relieve the *outside* picquet, which was behind the unfinished European barracks, about 250 yards distant from the intrenchment, where a guard was formed, consisting of two European soldiers, a corporal, myself, and Daniel. On relieving the picquet we were placed fifty yards apart from each other—two at the unfinished barracks and two on the plain—the corporal remaining in the centre—the night was gloomy, and we could not see clearly very far. Shortly after, one of the European sentries reported that something like a column of infantry appeared to be standing out near the enemy's battery on our north. The corporal went to him, and afterwards called us all together to see. There was certainly something like what the sentry had reported, and the glitter of bayonets was to be perceived occasionally, when the moon, which was enveloped in a sort of dusty smoky mist, became brighter. The corporal said he would go and report, and taking two men (Daniel and one of the European soldiers) he went away ; we had by this time stood more than our usual time of the watch, and the other sentry was very impatient to be relieved ; finding that no relief came for some time, he told me to keep a sharp look out, while he would go and fetch a relief. I was now left quite alone, the enemy's battery was as usual firing away its heavy pieces, without any regard as to whether it took effect or not ; some shots fell short, others went over, and a few dropped with tremendous crash at different places in the intrenchment. The column we had seen before was no longer perceptible. I tried to keep a good look out all round ; and being left in that solitary spot quite alone, I did not at all like my position. Half an hour passed away in this manner, and nobody came to my assistance. I called out at the top of my voice, but no notice was taken. I could not desert my post, so I fired off my musket, and again called out, at the same time re-loading my piece ; this had the desired effect, and I was relieved.

The Commissariat contractors all discontinued their supplies of rations to the European soldiers from the 6th June, or rather were unable to bring them in from the way the mutineers surrounded the intrenchment on all sides, permitting no ingress or egress at any time ; and as a great many servants had absconded as soon as the first gun was fired by the enemy (the few who did remain were so panic-struck and confused as to be perfectly useless), the European community felt greatly inconvenienced. None of the native clerks, Bengalees and others in the Government or merchants' employ, went into the intrenchment from want of room in it. They remained

in the city where they appear to have received much annoyance from the mutineers, and many had to desert into the villages to save their lives.

There was no place to shelter the live cattle. Horses of officers and others, as also those of the Oude Battery, had to be let loose, a few sheep and goats as well as bullocks kept for Commissariat purposes were shot off, and in the course of five or six days no meat was to be got for the Europeans. They, however, on one or two occasions managed to get hold of a stray bullock or cow near the intrenchment at night, which served as a change, otherwise a small quantity of *dhal* (split pulse) and a couple or three *chuppatees* (hand cake) were the daily diet of all without distinction, except of such who got uncooked rations, and they had the utmost difficulty in getting them dressed. Several hogsheads of rum and malt liquor were also destroyed by the enemy's cannon.

On the second day of the firing, the 7th, at about 10 A.M., the Soldiers' Church (called St. John's Chapel) was set on fire by the mutineers, and as it blazed away, I could not help thinking how heavy the hand of God was upon us thus to bring this judgment upon us—not only did He will that we should be besieged so fearfully on all sides without a hope of escape, but also permitted our persecutors to set fire to the house of our God before our very faces, the distance not being above three hundred yards—and that on the Sabbath day.

On the evening of this day it was my turn to keep watch through the sand bags over the parapet in the west corner of the intrenchment, and whilst I was looking out, I had to bend my back to enable me to keep under cover. All of a sudden I felt as if somebody had given me a tremendous blow with a club on my back. I turned round to see, but a darkness came over me; I reeled, and a strange sensation passed all over my body; then I swooned and fell down, face upwards. When I came to my senses again, I saw my poor brother Daniel bathing my face and fanning me, quite at a loss to know the cause of my sudden indisposition. I tried to rise, but could not without assistance. I desired them to draw my clothes which appeared no have stuck to the body; they did so, and a musket bullet fell out, it had cut through the several folds of my clothing, leaving a hole in them all, and penetrated about an inch deep in the body; fortunately it was a spent shot fired from the Riding School, or somewhere in that direction. I was taken to the hospital in the thatched barrack, where the surgeons were busily engaged performing operations upon the wounded; one soldier in particular (an artillery man) attracted my attention—his left arm was shot off a little above the elbow, the shattered flesh hung down as he sat on a stool divested of his shirt preparatory to undergoing an amputation.

The hands of all the surgeons were too full to attend to me, and I waited their convenience. Seated on a chair I was enabled to survey the patients in that room, and, seeing their sufferings, I thanked God that my own wound was but a trifle compared to some of theirs.

At last Mr. Twoomey, our kind apothecary of the medical depôt, examined my wound, and, looking at my features, felt my pulse and said, "well, you are a lucky man !" then addressed one of the surgeons (Dr. Newenham of the 1st N. I.), who also came and examined me in the same manner, and smiling very kindly, said, "nobody ever lives after getting a bullet in the part you have got, and as you have escaped this, you will live very long." I was desired to keep the wound wet always, as that was the only remedy for it then. The place where I received the bullet is the lumbar region on the right ridge of the spine. I will not describe the scene which took place when I was taken to the other barrack where my family occupied a room.

We had, as I said before, but one well in the middle of the intrenchment and quite exposed to the shots of the enemy, who kept up a most incessant fire upon it, so that it was as much as giving a man's "life blood" to go and draw a bucket of water ; and while there was any water remaining in the large jars usually kept in the verandah for the soldiers' use, nobody ventured to the well, but after the second day the demand became so great, that a *bheestee's* bag of water was with difficulty got for five rupees, and a bucket for a rupee, and as most of the servants had deserted, it became a matter of necessity for every person to fetch his own water, which was usually done during the night, when the enemy could not so well direct their shots. In fact, after the first three days' incessant firing, the rebels made it a practice, usually at about candle-light, to cease for about two hours, and at that time the crowd around the well was very great.

Several casualties occurred even within the first three or four days. Mr. Gee, a feeble old man, was killed by the fall of a round shot ; Major Sir George Parker died from sun-stroke, as also Colonel Williams of the 56th N. I. ; Mr. Gill, the Schoolmaster, while leaning against the wall of the Guard-Room, had his skull fractured, from a round shot hitting the wall outside of the building, and endured for several days intense pain ; Mrs. (Bazaar Sergeant) Reid and Mrs. O'Brien (of the Cawnpore Collector's Office) both died from apoplexy. Many others died in a similar manner whose names I am unable to mention. Brigadier Jack and his brother were both laid prostrate at the same time—one from sun-stroke attended with fever, and the other from having a leg broken by the fall of a round shot, both of whom died within a week of the siege, after much suffering.

As I was kept off duty for nearly a week on account of my wound, I was enabled to remain with my dear family. I had been fortunate enough to secure an earthen vessel capable of holding ten seers of water, and we valued it almost as our lives. I should not have parted with it for its weight in gold at that time. It used to be filled once at night and early in the morning, by poor Daniel, assisted by our only servant Thakoorancee; and more than once he was nearly deprived of the vessel by the soldiers in a forcible manner. We had, however, the good fortune of rescuing and preserving it throughout, or I know not what we should have done otherwise, for every person in that room, about twenty in number, depended upon that one chattie for a drink. We used the water very sparingly, and felt very thankful even for this small quantity, considering how badly off were those who had nothing to keep a supply in with them. Seeing the distress of the women and children in this respect, many officers and others would take the first opportunity of going to the well in the evening, and procuring water with their own hands for them. I remember seeing Mr. Mackillop, our worthy Joint Magistrate, labouring in this manner. On one occasion, seeing me in the verandah, he asked me to join him, which I should most willingly have done; but I was sorry to see his disappointment when he found I was wounded and unable to comply with his request.

It is impossible to describe in words the effect the sudden bursting of large shells in our verandahs used to have upon the tenderly brought up ladies and children; the report was enough to burst their hearts, and such was actually the case in some instances. I had no idea before of the very great report a bursting shell makes, and when so close as only a wall between, it was dreadful. I cannot forget the frightful start it caused some. On the third day of the firing, seven servants took shelter in the verandah of the barrack occupied by myself and family, they were leaning against the wall near the door of our room which was closed, when a shell, falling outside, hopped into the midst of them and burst with tremendous effect, causing instant death to five; one had an arm broken, and the other escaped unhurt. The sight of these corpses which remained there till candle-light, was dreadful to inexperienced eyes.

Many ladies and children died in great distress, amongst them was Mrs. Hillersden, wife of our Civil Magistrate and Collector of Cawnpore; she died (I think) on the night of the 9th, and was buried very early on the following morning in the small garden attached to the *pucca* barrack, in a circular excavation which had previously been dug, waist deep, for General Wheeler's use for cooking purposes to prevent fire from flying about. It was a difficult matter to dig graves for the dead on account of the hardness of the earth and

from want of time, and the danger of the shot and shell from the enemy's batteries, so that with few exceptions the bodies had to be put in a well outside the intrenchment, as will be described hereafter.

On 10th June, Lieutenant Boulton of the 7th Cavalry, contrived to enter our intrenchment, leaping his horse over the low mud wall. This officer was the only one who escaped when his squadron—which was encamped at Choubrypore, a few miles to the north-east of our camp—had mutinied and killed all their officers.

In the course of four or five days the enemy had us well surrounded with cannon. A most deadly fire was kept up; as many more guns were fitted up at the magazine and added to the battery, which had also been shifted a good deal nearer to the English camp. The enemy took possession of all the bungalows, compound walls, and out-buildings of houses, under cover of which, morning and evening, they fired their musketry upon us, which had no bounds, causing us much distress on account of their being so near to our camp. The burnt church proved to be the most annoying position against us, as also the newly-built unfinished European barracks. Their encroachment, however, in the latter quarter was usually checked by the vigilance of a most brave and energetic officer, Captain Moore, of H. M.'s 32nd Foot, who, though severely hurt in one of his arms, never gave himself the least rest. Wherever there appeared most danger he was sure to be foremost, with his arm in a sling and a revolver in his belt, directing and leading the men. This officer placed scouts with spy-glasses on the top of the nearest of these barracks outside the intrenchment, whence every movement of the enemy could be seen, and which helped our artillery to direct their shots. The rebel sepoys usually took possession of the first three of these new barracks farthest to our camp, but whenever they annoyed us much or attempted to approach nearer, Captain Moore would go out with about a dozen Europeans in the midst of the most brisk fire, and getting under cover of the other barracks, peppered the enemy so as to soon rout them out of their hiding places. It was a very amusing sight to see the way the Captain used to make his men and himself pass from the intrenchment into the unfinished barracks; whenever he found the enemy too strong for the small picquet placed there to protect our scouts and keep possession of the three nearest barracks, he would collect volunteers from the intrenchment, and send them out, one at a time. As each man ventured out, some scores of bullets were fired at him, which made him run as fast as ever his legs would allow; however, the distance to run in one breath was not very great, for a lot of conveyances, bullock trains, &c., were placed at short distances all the way to the new barracks.

This brave officer went out on two occasions, by permission of

the General, under cover of the night with about twenty-five Europeans and spiked the nearest guns of the enemy. Oh ! with what hearty cheers were these daring men welcomed back on their return by the remainder of the garrison !—it was really very affecting. The men went to work as coolly, and returned in the same order after spiking the larger guns, and unlimbering and spiking the smaller ones, as if they were engaged in the most ordinary duties. But for the paucity of our soldiers, it would have been an easy matter to drive away the rebels, who proved themselves to be a most cowardly set of men, particularly the cavalry. Very often attempts were made to charge upon us, and, notwithstanding the immense number of people collected on the enemy's side, apparently with that intention, under cover of the compound walls, &c., they seldom dared courageously to come out ; for, whenever they advanced, a few charges of grape would soon disperse and make them all run away as fast as ever.

Our artillery kept up a brisk firing for the first three or four days, but after that it was considered unadvisable to exhaust our magazine, for the enemy took good care to keep always well under cover, and we could not do much execution among them ; however, our guns were always kept ready loaded and matches burning, with the gunners vigilantly on the look out.

The heat was very great ; and what with the fright, want of room, want of proper food and care, many women and children died in great distress, as also officers and soldiers from exposure to the sun. Their dead bodies had to be put into a well outside the intrenchment near one of the new unfinished barracks ; and this work was generally done at the close of each day, as nobody could attempt to venture out for that purpose during the day on account of the enemy's shot and shell flying in all directions like hail. The distress was so great that none could offer a word of consolation to his friend or attempt to administer to the wants of another. I have seen the dead bodies of officers and tenderly brought up young ladies put outside in the verandah amidst the ruins, to await the time when the fatigue party usually went round to carry the dead to the well, for there was scarcely room to shelter the living, and the buildings were so sadly riddled that every safe corner available was considered a great object.

CHAPTER III.

THE enemy seeing no signs of our discomfiture began to feel discouraged, and when on the night of the 8th June a small

detachment of Europeans bravely came out of their intrenchment and spiked three small and one large gun of the enemy, the latter despaired of ever being able to take possession of the intrenchment.

The Nana considered himself quite insecure in Mr. Duncan's hotel, which was not above 200 yards from the place where the large gun had been spiked, he therefore removed out of it next morning and formed his camp on the plain of *Savada*, two miles south-east of our intrenchment, where under a mango tope a few tents were pitched for himself and his staff: from this encampment he occasionally came round, by a turn through the city to his battery on our north.

That same morning, the 9th, the first grand effort was made on the part of the mutineers to take the English intrenchment by storm, and, in order to give support and courage to the disciplined troops, the Mussulman inhabitants of Cawnpore were all called to assemble under the "*Mahumdee Jhunda*," (flag) and a proclamation was published far and wide to the following effect: "Whereas the British Government, wishing to deprive us of our religion and caste by many stratagems, at last had recourse to open attempts, and thus incurred upon themselves the displeasure of the Deity, who has given the rule into our hands to punish them; therefore it is incumbent on all true Mussulmen and the native of all classes to join the good cause of exterminating the English people from India." The priest, seated by the flag absorbed in prayer and pious meditations, had to decide whether the day was propitious for an attack or not on the infidel garrison. Finding that the Mahomedans, collected on this occasion under the "green flag," were not quite sufficient, a Hindoo flag was hoisted, called the "*Mahabeeree Jhunda*," and the proclamation, whilst calling upon the Hindoos to join, stated that "every Hindoo who does not join this righteous cause is an outcast; may he eat the flesh of cows, &c., &c." This brought together a great mob of people of all classes. The regular sepoys put forward the mob in front and wished to move to the charge under cover of them; whereas the 2nd Cavalry troopers, who were more cowardly than the rest, remained mounted in the rear, pretending to keep a check over the advancing column to prevent their running away; but the moment our battery opened fire upon them, the sight of the grape-shot bounding in right in the midst of them, and knocking down several, was beyond endurance, all turned tail, and a tremendous bolt they made of it, the troopers of the cavalry giving the lead.

The inhabitants of Cawnpore describe the state of the station at the time of the outbreak as most dreadful. It appeared, they said, as if the day of judgment had come; the station was surrounded with fire; large mobs of people, mostly composed of the labouring

classes and the budmashes of the place, crowded on all sides, like swarms of locusts, plundering English property and getting drunk upon English wines and liquors : but when on the following day the mutineers returned, and proceeded to attack the English garrison, the state of things was most terrible. The 2nd Cavalry men galloped about to and from the magazine at a tremendous rate, their swords jingling in their scabbards, their horses' feet resounding on all sides and throwing up clouds of dust ; then followed guns of various sizes and ammunition waggons drawn by Government bullocks, brought from the magazine to be used against the masters who had so long fed and clothed them. Then when the batteries opened fire, and the cannonading was kept up so incessantly, several large guns firing together, it seemed as if the earth was turning upside down. Men, women and children, who had never heard such bombardment, except the artillery practice in peaceable times, trembled and crouched inside their houses in the city. Fear and trembling was to be seen on all sides except among the mutinous troops and the plunderers, who went about committing all kind of atrocities and oppression. 93622

In the meantime the work of cold-blooded murders upon Christians, who had not gone into the intrenchment, but had hid themselves in places where they thought they would remain safe, was carried on with unremitting ferocity. Native boys, bazar people, and in many instances their own servants, pointed them out to the murderers. Mr. McIntosh, a well-known and old resident of Cawnpore, and one of his sons, dressed themselves like chowkeedars, and remained amongst their servants for a day or two, but were soon recognized by other people, and had to run away in the disguise of brahmmins. Old Mr. McIntosh could speak the Hindoostance language like a native. This disguise, however, was not considered quite secure, and not knowing what to do, they got under a bridge on the road near Greenway Brothers' gate, where some boys pointed them out, whence they were pulled out and hacked to pieces ; their bones lay exposed in the drain along the roadside bleaching for three or four months, until another son of the poor old man picked them up and gave them a burial. Mrs. McIntosh, the wife of the old gentleman, was hiding in her washerwoman's house, but was found out and taken to the Nana, who was at the time living in Mr. Duncan's hotel. The people who saw her in native clothes, fully expected that so old and helpless a female would not be murdered, but she even was not spared. After beheading her, the trunk was laid in a ditch on its back, and the bleeding head placed on the breast, in which position it was left to decompose. Pensioner Green, Superintendent of the Bridge of Boats, who was living with a native woman, on finding that she could not hide him any longer,

wished him to escape, but only managed to get him to the old Native Infantry lines, whence he was brought out on the parade ground and killed. Thus, as many as remained away from the British intrenchment were traced out and murdered, including women and little children ; even the Chinaman shoemaker, Auchin, was not spared. When he was brought before the Nana he begged very hard for his life, saying he was a mere tradesman, a shoemaker, like the other natives, and not a European or Christian, but no notice was taken of his pleadings ; his head was cut off.

The murderers met with no resistance anywhere except in one place near the General Gunj ; a man named Cloony, a discharged Drummer of the 2nd Grenadiers, Native Infantry, together with a few Native Christians, took up their abode in a small, but strongly built flat-roofed house, the doors of which they barricaded with bricks, stones, &c., and taking a few matchlocks, which they possessed, up stairs, gave fight to the miserable hounds who came to take their lives. They succeeded in shooting and wounding about half a dozen of the miscreants, and made the others retire, but at night these returned and set fire to the thatched verandah on the sides of the house, which, being small, the heat of the flames soon scorched the poor fellows, and they all died.

The native inhabitants of Cawnpore state that the thirst for the blood of Christians became so great, that every house was searched. The insurgents even went into the villages in the districts of Cawnpore, to see if any were hid there ; they even proceeded so far as Nujjubgurh, about sixteen miles on the east of Cawnpore, where Mr. Edward Greenway (of the firm of Greenway Brothers) with his aged mother, his wife and children, together with another gentleman named Mr. Hollings, had sought refuge, at their factory ; thinking that the insurgents would not proceed so far away to molest them. Mr. Hollings being a good sportsman, and having previously provided himself with some double-barrel guns, would not allow the inmates of the house to surrender themselves easily. On the approach of the insurgents he took them all to the terrace of the house by means of a ladder, which they drew up after them ; so good was the aim of Mr. Hollings, that he killed and wounded about sixteen of the budmashes. On the second day the Nana was informed of this ; he immediately ordered a detachment of the mutinous troops to proceed there and bring the fugitives prisoners to Cawnpore. By this time Mr. Hollings' ammunition was all out ; and when he found he could fight no more he came forward, and sitting on one of the balustrades of the building, fully exposed himself to view, and called out to the troops to shoot him. Several shots were fired, and at last one caught him in the chest, which brought him head foremost to the ground, and the fall from that

height completed his death. After this the others gave themselves up, and would have been killed there and then, but a promise of high ransom on the part of Mrs. Greenway saved their lives. They were brought to the Nana on common bullock carts. This heartless man had been all along before the mutiny on social terms with that firm, and was in the habit of frequently visiting the shop, and holding friendly intercourse with the brothers, whose hospitality he had often shared : he nevertheless treated these unoffending and good people as if they were his greatest enemies. Two lacs of rupees, or £20,000 sterling, was the amount of ransom fixed upon ; the money not being forthcoming immediately, they were kept under a guard in the open plain, and I learned from the natives that those unfortunate people had to sit two hours exposed to the powerful heat of the sun ; after that they were removed into a pucca building. This was a yellow-colored house, attached to the spot where the Nana had formed his camp in the Savada plain, which building goes by the name of Savada-ke-kothee.

A Portuguese merchant, named De Gama, who had hired the Assembly Rooms (a strong flat-roofed house) for his shop, not considering General Wheeler's intrenchment sufficiently secure, had tried many ways to secure his safety ; some say he was hiding in a house in the city, whence he was taken out and brought before the Nana, with whom he used to have extensive dealings ; as he knew him so well, he thought his life would be spared on the score of his being but a merchant. He was conducted to the place where the Nana was at the time superintending some arrangements about the fight. A man went a little ahead and informed the chief that De Gama was being brought a prisoner, and wished to speak to him : upon this the Nana turned away his face in anger, with sufficient meaning in his gesticulations, and one of his followers immediately drew his sword and struck De Gama three or four times with it. The poor fellow fell, as he got the last cut against his mouth, and rolled over in a fearful manner : a few more strokes finished him.

Several other murders followed in succession. Young Waterfield, old Maling, and his eldest son, together with his son-in-law, young William Jacobie, all dressed in native disguises, were hunted out and murdered.

Mr. Henry Jacobie (watch-maker) and family had arranged to remain concealed in the house of a native, living in Gwal-tolce ; but when the houses of the natives began to be searched, Mr. and Mrs. Jacobie and their two children managed to go across the river at night, and remained under cover of some long grass on the banks of the river. Next day some zemindars got intimation of it, and had them caught and sent *via Permut Ghât* to the Nana. Mr. Jacobie

got sun-struck ; when quite unable to walk he was placed on a cot, and conveyed, followed on foot by Mrs. Jacobie and children, but he soon died. His wife, I am told, became so desperate at the time she was made to stand before the Nana, that she spoke to him in a most daring manner : shamed him for the cold-blooded murders he had committed, or caused to be committed ; said, that it was an act of cowardice to kill helpless women and children, when they had fallen in his power ; showed how the British in every case protected such, and always treated their prisoners with consideration, allowing them even handsome pensions for life ; that she and her poor children had done nothing to offend him in any way, and if he thought that by killing her and others, England would become empty of Europeans, he was greatly mistaken. Her harangue fortunately had the effect of shaming the Nana and all present ; and she was ordered to be sent to the Savada kothee with her children, there to be kept prisoners, along with old Mrs. Greenway and her son and family.

The wretches, not satisfied with confining these murders to the Christians only, even killed natives ; about 25 cooks and bakers residing in the European bazaar, were suspected of supplying bread to the intrenchment, though such suspicion was quite unfounded, and were accordingly taken and killed.

A cavalcade was appointed to proceed from street to street proclaiming, by beat of tom-tom and other instruments, the Nana's rule both at Cawnpore and at Bithoor. Mark his extraordinary title—

“Sree Wunt-Maharaj Dheeraj-Dhoondoo Punth-Nana Saheb, Punth Puddan Paishwa Bahadoor” !!!

On the 11th June a grand preparation was being made by the rebels to storm our intrenchment, and the Nana proposed to lead the attack in person ; this proposal was made to prove to the army that their commander was a man of undaunted courage. Private instructions, however, had previously been given by the wily knave to his confidential followers, to persuade the army to beg that the Nana might not expose his sacred head in the battle, as, in the event of his fall, the army would have no one to look to. This succeeded very well, and the Nana preserved his character for bravery without being exposed to danger.

About noon on that day, a sudden alarm prevailed among those in the flat-roofed barrack that the building was on fire, which caused so great a panic, especially among the ladies, that though no fire was seen, nearly all rushed out of the rooms with their little ones, and ran into the other building (the thatched barrack). The fear of the shots, which were as usual flying all round, was entirely overcame for the moment by this sudden and new alarm. The gentlemen were unable to restrain this flight, and were compelled in a manner to give support to the ladies.

One of the rooms on the north side, which contained a large quantity of clothes and furniture belonging to the families of the merchants, had caught fire by some means or other then not known, and its occupants were the first to rush out quite bewildered ; the others, who were ignorant of the cause, seeing them in that state, and merely hearing the words, "house on fire," did not hesitate a moment to join in the flight.

I was reclining against the wall in my room, endeavouring to allay the pain of the wound in my back by pouring cold water on it ; before I could learn a word about this panic, all in the room with me started up and ran out ; my poor wife Ellen, too, with the infant in one arm and holding our child Polly's hand with the other, followed them, calling out to me at the same time to come. I got up the best way I could, and quite at a loss to think what it all meant, went hobbling after them. On reaching the other barrack, a fearful scene was presented to my sight. The side rooms were crowded to suffocation, and a great many were left unwillingly under the thatch in the middle. Suddenly something struck the tiles on top with a tremendous crash, and an immense iron ball, a 18-pounder, darted down, killing a handsome-looking youngster, who was held by the hand by his mother, and wounding one or two besides. Oh ! the anguish of that moment ! For a while fearful silence prevailed, then the heart-rending shrieks of the mother (an officer's wife) burst upon us (it still sounds in my ears while I write this). It would be impossible to describe the horrible consternation and fright, or the wild alarm and dismay which was visible upon the features of those around. All moved out of the spot, when another crash, more terrible than the first, startled every body—down came an enormous ball evidently fired from the same gun, and fell harmlessly a little further up. Some took shelter under the archway of the doors, and some against the wall. I saw several familiar faces there, but the following occurrence is most vivid in my recollection. Captain Seppings, the Officiating Deputy Paymaster of this station, was one of those under the door arches with his wife and children ; he was quite calm and collected, endeavouring to encourage the ladies with him. He knelt down and offered up a very appropriate short but earnest prayer to God. After which he wrote something on the wall with a pencil and appeared quite resigned. I have lately been to the place and taken a copy of the writing, which is as follows : "The following were in this barrack on the 11th June, 1857. Captain Seppings, Mrs. Ditto, 3 children ; Mrs. Wainwright, Ditto infant ; Mr. Cripps, Mrs. Halliday."

Suddenly another piercing shriek of a female was heard, and all turned round to know the cause. Two soldiers' wives were

seen hastily moving out of a corner in the side room where there was a cot or bed, and pointing to something under it. Quick as lightning, a sergeant or overseer of the roads, having a pair of pistols in his belt, rushed forward and dragged out a most hideous, loathsome figure of a man (native), blackened and scorched all over, as if burnt with fire, and, pulling him away to the verandah, instantly shot him through the head. The sight was exceedingly repulsive. How this wretched man happened to come there I do not know; but all agreed that from his appearance he had something to do with setting fire to the other barrack, as on his person was found a box of matches, and it appeared he had come for the express purpose of setting fire to both the barracks since the shell of the enemy had hitherto not been successful in doing so. I remember this shocking scene as distinctly as if it all occurred only an hour ago.

It having been, by this time, ascertained that the fire in the other barrack had not spread, and was put out, we prepared to return to our several apartments, but the excitement being over, a difficult matter it was to do so now in the midst of showers of bullets outside. The greater number of us came back by running across with all our might and main, but in the hurry many forgot their own apartment and got in wherever they best could, and thus we had several additions to our own room.

A very respectable looking European lady, of pleasing appearance, with grey hair, of about fifty or fifty-five years of age, of middle height and rather full in the body, came in very quietly and laid herself down on a couch in our room. We thought she was asleep, but a little while after she was heard to moan pitifully. Some got up to see what was the matter with her; she turned a little on one side and brought up something that looked like the horns of a goat. They say she had burst her heart, and died shortly after. The fright had been too great for her. We made many inquiries as to who were her friends and relatives, but none came to claim her. At last, at sun-set the fatigue party took the corpse and put it in the well outside the trenches.

About the same time with this poor old lady came in two young females, fair and delicate, mothers of two children each, one was more collected than the other, but the cries of the four children were distracting and beyond description—nothing could pacify them; at last a young man, who had been all over in search of them, found his way to our room, and in him I recognized Mr. DeRussett, of the firm of Brandon and Co. How glad he was to meet his wife, and Mrs. Kight (wife of the late editor of the *Central Star Press*). He embraced his children in the most tender manner, who became somewhat quiet after their heads were washed

and a wet handkerchief placed over them. But sad to say the fright and heat had done their work upon poor Mrs. DeRussett,—she *was out of her mind*. Her husband tried to do all he could to relieve her, but he was soon called away to his post in the trenches, as a body of the enemy was seen collecting, apparently desirous of making a charge.

The battle now began to wax very hot, and at about 5 P.M. several desperate attempts at a charge were made by the rebel sepoys. I looked out and saw some thousands of armed men spread about under every cover available, their muskets and bayonets only perceptible, and they fired away as fast as they could load; their batteries also threw in shot, shell, and grape, and bullets came pouring in upon our camp, tearing away tents and pillars of the barracks on every side. The din of this fearful cannonading and musketry was so incessant for nearly a couple of hours that it resembled continuous claps of thunder in a tremendous storm. It was an awful moment—a moment when death stared us on all sides, and gave a foretaste of what might have been our fate on that occasion—my feeble pen cannot pourtray our agonizing feelings at that hour of indescribable anguish. All in the room had fallen to the ground in fervent and earnest supplications to our Almighty Father. Such a moment as that will never be effaced from my memory as long as I live. It was then I wrote on the wall of that room with a pencil, intending it for the public to see, in case of our death that day, which would have been inevitable had the enemy had sufficient courage to make a bold charge; rather, if the Lord our God had not prevented them (their number was at least ten or twelve times more than ours, and they were fresh from their lines and camp, whereas we were not only half-starved but quite knocked up). A few well-directed charges of canister from our batteries served to keep them in check, and our men did pretty good execution with their musketry, till the enemy's infantry left the field of battle and retired. The pencil memorandum on the wall, which I wrote on this occasion, was as follows: "Should this meet the eyes of any who were acquainted with us, in case we are all destroyed, be it known to them that we occupied this room for eight days under circumstances so distressing as have no precedent. The destruction of Jerusalem could not have been attended with distress so severe as we have experienced in so short a time,—W. J. Shepherd (wounded in the back), his wife and two children, Rebecca and her infant, Emelina, Martha, old Mrs. Frost, Mrs. Osborne, Daniel, Thakooranee, Conductor Berrell, his wife and daughter, together with other friends—11th June, 1857."

After the enemy had dispersed, Mr. DeRussett called to see his poor wife at about 7 o'clock; but, alas! she was no more; her spirit

had taken its flight a little after sun-set, to a place in which she will never hear the din of cannon nor feel the persecution of the enemy. The poor disconsolate husband returned to his post, and after a couple of hours came back and stood outside near the door, which was open. I was awake; he came in and whispered in my ear if he could bury the body, showing me at the same time a spade he carried in his hand. This was a task not easy to execute, for the earth was very hard and dry, and the rebel batteries still kept pouring their iron shower upon our camp. I could scarcely walk, as the exertions during the day had made my wound very painful; but I took him the best way I could, and showed him the place where Mrs. Hillersden had been buried the previous morning. He thanked me, and we returned, I asked Ellen and our two nieces if they would bear a hand. They most cheerfully agreed to do so, and, lifting up the body, assisted by Mr. DeRussett, conveyed it to the spot. It was a moonlight night, —an occasional mortar shell or two came riding in the air, like meteors, from the enemy's battery, and fell here and there in the intrenchment, but none very near us. I pronounced a short prayer from our Burial Service. How solemn and impressive did the words sound at the time: "Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery. He cometh up, and is cut down like a flower; he fleeth as it were a shadow, and never continueth is one stay. In the midst of life we are in death; of whom may we seek for succour but of Thee O Lord, who for our sins art justly displeased." We committed the body to the earth, side by side, in the same excavation with Mrs. Hillersden.

The station of Cawnpore, being one of the most important posts of our Government in the North-Western Provinces, the outbreak there was a signal for all the neighbouring stations to join.

"At Futtehghurh, the 10th Regiment Native Infantry, to all appearance, seemed to be ready to mutiny, and the residents were much alarmed. On the evening of the 3rd June, information having been received of the approach of a party of insurgents, it was believed that the 10th Regiment would immediately join them, and that the slaughter of the Europeans would commence; nearly all the non-military residents, therefore, rushed to their boats which they had previously provided, and long before dawn the following morning the fleet had weighed anchor and was fairly on its way down to Cawnpore."

The military residents, officers of the 10th Native Infantry, together with the civil servants as also a few ladies, were now only left at Futtehghurh, and did all in their power to prevent the troops from breaking out. After a while the sepoys became suspicious of being deserted by their officers, as some two or three had disappeared during the day. Every thing was done to reassure

them. The officers walked about and talked to the men, and never left them for a moment; some of the ladies drove on to the parade to show that they were not gone with the fleet, and the sepoy became satisfied for a time.

In the meantime the civil residents proceeded on by water towards Cawnpore, hoping that if they could but reach that place all would be right with them. Conceive, then, what must have been their horror and anguish of mind when, on approaching near, they found Cawnpore in the hands of the Nana and the English besieged! Nothing of their arrival and slaughter ever reached us in the intrenchment, and what I now detail has been gleaned subsequently.

It is stated that on the night of the 9th June, some three boats arrived from Futtehgurh, containing about thirty Europeans, and about the same number of ladies, with about sixty children. They had managed to pass Bithoor, though fired upon from thence and repeatedly ordered to stop. At last their progress was arrested about a mile from the magazine of Cawnpore by some sand-banks, and a party of the mutineers was sent to capture them. The guns suddenly opening upon the poor fugitives, caused them to take shelter in some high grass growing on the bank, but this being set on fire, two ladies and some children perished. Finding resistance useless, the fugitives surrendered—this was on the 10th June;—a party of the 2nd Cavalry then bound the men with ropes, and, getting them all together, drove them along like a herd of sheep to the slaughter. In this manner they were brought to the Subadar's tank, where they were obliged to halt for the night, the children being exhausted, and the ladies unable to proceed without shoes and with cut and bleeding feet. The rebels, it is reported, treated these helpless and ill-fated people with needless cruelty—no food whatever, and only a small quantity of water being supplied them. Next morning, the 11th June, carts were procured, and the fugitives taken to Savada to the Nana's camp, to whom they pointed out the folly of murdering them, as he could not expect to exterminate all the Europeans in the country. He is said to have been inclined to mercy, and directed them to be kept as prisoners; but the troopers of the 2nd Cavalry and their General, Teeka Singh, instigated by the Nana's brother Bala, would not consent. The latter made known in plain terms to the Nana, that if he did not direct their slaughter he would take it upon himself to give the order. In the meantime the poor fugitives were made to sit in a ditch, exposed to the rays of the mid-day sun, surrounded by the rebels on all sides. The little children were heard, in the most pitiful manner, asking their parents for a drink of water to quench their agonizing thirst; but all the notice that their hard-hearted tormentors took of these

pitiful cries, were horrible taunts and abuses and revilings of the grossest kind.

They were then taken to the plain west of the Savada house, and, at about 3 p.m., the villain Bala proceeded and sat upon a pucca chabootra, which was there, whence he gave the word to fire ; after discharging two rounds of shot, the wretches fell upon their victims with swords and bayonets and completed the slaughter. It is said that whatever property was found upon the boats consisted chiefly of gold and silver, of which the Nana took immediate possession. After the work of murder was finished, the mangled bodies were ordered to be thrown into the river. The sweepers employed for this purpose stripped the clothes, which, together with whatever jewels and cash they found upon the bodies, they took for their own use, and several became very rich in consequence. After this the corpses were laden on common open carts and conveyed to the river.

A day after the bodies had thus been thrown into the river a European girl of about five or six years of age was found by some washermen, lying on the bank still breathing, though quite insensible from the great loss of blood caused by the wounds she had received the previous day. Among the other wounds a sword-cut on the collar bone was said to be very deep and frightful. The washermen made over the child to a golundaz (artilleryman), who happened to be there at the time, and he brought her to the Nana, begging to be allowed to adopt the child as his own, should she recover. This request was granted, but it afterwards caused much dispute among some of the mutineers. Teeka Singh, in particular, insisted on the child being deprived of life, but he was over-ruled. The poor girl survived, and was recovering of her wounds when the golundaz took her away with him on the occasion of the retaking of Cawnpore by General Havelock, and she has never since been heard of.

The following are the names of the fugitives composing this party from Futtehgarh, published by Mr. Jones, an old resident of that station, who remained till the second party left, in July, and escaped :—

Alexander, Mr.	Billington, Mr., clerk.
Brierley, J., Collector's officer.	Campbell, D. E., Revd.
„ Mrs. and two daughters.	„ Mrs. and 2 children.
„ R., coach-builder.	Carr, W., Inspector, Post Office.
„ Mrs. and one child.	„ Mrs. and 1 child.
„ 2 Misses, E. and F.	Cawood, C., Mr., clothing agency.

<i>Cawood, R. Mrs., and 2 children.</i>	<i>Kestall, Mr., clothing agency.</i>
<i>Elliott, Mr., Dulleepsing's estate.</i>	<i>„ Mrs. and 3 children.</i>
<i>„ Mrs. and 5 children.</i>	<i>McMullin, J., Revd.</i>
<i>Freeman, J. E., Revd.</i>	<i>„ Miss.</i>
<i>„ Mrs.</i>	<i>Maclean, Mr., merchant.</i>
<i>Finlay, Mr., clothing agency.</i>	<i>„ Mrs.</i>
<i>„ Mrs. and child.</i>	<i>Macklin, Mr., Collector's office.</i>
<i>„ Miss.</i>	<i>„ Mrs. and 8 children.</i>
<i>Faulkner, Mr., pensioner.</i>	<i>Macdonald, Mrs., and 3 children.</i>
<i>„ Mrs. and children.</i>	<i>Madden, Mr., clothing agency.</i>
<i>Guise, Mr., merchant.</i>	<i>„ Mrs. and 2 children.</i>
<i>„ Mrs.</i>	<i>„ Eliza, Miss.</i>
<i>Hammond, Sergt. gun car. agency.</i>	<i>„ Emelia, Miss.</i>
<i>„ Mrs. and 4 children.</i>	<i>Monckton, J., Lieut., Engineers.</i>
<i>Ives, J., Mr., merchant.</i>	<i>„ Mrs. and 1 child.</i>
<i>„ Mrs.</i>	<i>Palmer, J., Deputy Collector.</i>
<i>„ Miss.</i>	<i>„ Mrs. and 9 children.</i>
<i>Johnson, A. O., Revd.</i>	<i>Ray, R., Miss.</i>
<i>Johnson, Mrs.</i>	<i>„ E., Miss.</i>
<i>Joyce, Mr., merchant.</i>	<i>Sheils, Mr., Schoolmaster.</i>
<i>„ Mrs. and 4 children.</i>	<i>„ Mrs. and 2 children.</i>
<i>Kew, J. B., Mr., Postmaster.</i>	<i>Shepherd, Mrs. and 3 children.</i>
<i>„ Mrs. and 2 children.</i>	<i>„ Mary, Miss.</i>
<i>„ Miss.</i>	<i>Wareham, R., Mr.</i>

In order the more to excite and embitter the minds of the native population against the English, the following proclamation was concocted and widely circulated :—

“ A traveller, just arrived in Cawnpore from Calcutta, states that some months past a council was held to take into consideration the means to be adopted to do away with the religion of the Mahomedans and Hindoos by the distribution of the cartridges. The council came to this resolution, that as the matter was one of religion the services of seven or eight thousand European soldiers would be necessary, as fifty thousand Hindoostances would have to be destroyed, and then the whole of the people of India would become Christians. A petition, with the substance of this resolution, was sent to Queen Victoria, and it was approved ; a council was then held a second time at Calcutta, in which all the English merchants took a part, and it was decided, in order that no evil should arise from the expected opposition, that large reinforcements should be sent for. When the dispatch was received and read in England, thousands of European soldiers were embarked on ships as speedily as possible, and sent off to Hindoostan. The news of the dispatch of these troops being received at Calcutta, the English authorities then

ordered the issue of the cartridges, for the real intention was to Christianise the army first, which, when effected, the conversion of the people would speedily follow. Pigs' and cows' fat was mixed up with the cartridges.

“This became known through one of the Bengalees who was employed in the cartridge-making establishment. Of those, through whose means this was divulged, one was killed and the rest imprisoned. While in this country these councils were being adopted, in England the vakeel of the Sultan of *Roum* (Turkey) sent news to his master that thousands of European soldiers were being sent for the purpose of making Christians of all the people of Hindoostan. Upon this the Sultan issued a “firman” (edict) to the king of Egypt to the effect: “You must deceive Queen Victoria, for this is not a time for friendship, for my vakeel writes that thousands of European soldiers have been dispatched for the purpose of Christianising the army and the people of Hindoostan. If I should be remiss, then how can I show my face to God? and one day this may come upon me also; for if the English make Christians of all in Hindoostan, they will then fix their designs upon my country. When the firman reached the king of Egypt, he prepared and arranged his troops before the arrival of the English at Alexandria, for this is the route to India. The instant the English army arrived, the king of Egypt opened guns upon them from all sides, and destroyed and sunk their ships, and not a single soldier escaped. The English in Calcutta, after the promulgation of the order for the issue of the cartridges, and when the mutiny had become great, were in expectation of the arrival of the army from London. But the Great God in his Omnipotence had beforehand put an end to this. When the news of the destruction of the army of London became known, then the Governor-General was plunged in grief and sorrow, and beat his head. Printed by order of Paishwa Bahadoor.”

About the 15th June the Bengalees of the station were all called together and kept at the city kotewallee under a guard, where they were severely reprimanded and threatened for not obeying the proclamation issued about four days previously, directing all Government servants to report themselves without delay to the Nana, and make a promise before him to the effect that they would send no intelligence to, or hold any kind of communication with the British camp at Cawnpore. The Baboos were thus detained all night, and in the morning a few of the head men were selected and taken to the Nana, who enjoined them, on pain of death, to leave off writing English, and never to send any communication to the British intrenchment. After this the whole of the Bengalees were directed to be released, but at the same time to be carefully watched. Before letting them go, Azimollah held a grand audience of his

own, and delivered a long speech to a great many inhabitants of the city, giving them to understand that the British reign was actually over in India; that he had himself been to England, and knew a great deal more about the English people than any one of them was supposed to know.

“It is a very small piece of an island,” said he, “and very scantily populated; no more troops can be spared to send out to India. If it were not so, why would not more soldiers have been sent long ago? So many new countries the British have taken during the last few years, and have they increased their European troops? No! This is then the true reason for it. I have been at all their little villages, and know it for a fact, that no more soldiers can be spared; all that they can do is to send, now and then, with great difficulty, a few recruits to complete and keep up the strength of the corps already in India. What fools, then, we natives have made of ourselves, so quietly to surrender our country to a handful of tyrannical foreigners, who are trying in many ways to deprive us of our religion and our privileges! It behoves us, therefore—and I call upon you all to join heart and hand—to extirpate our enemies, root and branch, from the face of all India. Let not a soul escape, let not the name of a Christian be ever named in Hindoostan. We are strong and numerous to keep our own; but if further assistance is needed, nothing is easier. When I was in England I made friendship with all the Plenipotentiaries of France, Russia, and other States; these are all my friends, and are willing and ready to do anything for me.” After a long harangue of this nature, the audience ended. Many of the natives, who did not know better, were inclined to believe what they heard, especially as they all well knew that Azimoolah had actually been to England and had remained there two years. Apprehension and doubt arose in their minds for the fate of the English in India; they calculated on the immense body of the mutinous troops, all well-trained soldiers, with vast resources at their command. Thus many wavered in their allegiance to the British Government, and joined the rebel cause.

Failing in their several attempts to take the English garrison by storm, the rebels had brought out more heavy guns from time to time from the magazine, and formed several most formidable batteries under cover of the night, as close to our intrenchment as was practicable. Thus their positions for cannonading amounted by this time to seven in number, and stood as follows:—

1st Battery.—1 gun, 24-pounder, range of shot 1,100 yards, (by subsequent measurement) to the N.-W. of our camp.

2nd Battery.—2 guns, 24-pounders, range of shot 1,100 yards, from the lines of the 1st Native Infantry, N.-N.-W. of us.

3rd Battery.—2 mortars, distance 700 yards, direct to the N. of us.

4th Battery.—2 mortars, distance 600 yards towards the N.-E., behind St. John's Church.

5th Battery.—3 guns, viz., two 24-pounders and one 18-pounder, distance 500 yards, from the high banks of a tank to our E.

6th Battery.—2 guns, distance 700 yards, from the artillery hospital, S.-E. to us.

7th Battery.—1 gun, 9-pounder, distance 350 yards, south of our camp, from a position taken up in the half-built walls of the last "unfinished European barrack," which the sepoys loop-holed, and used also for musket practice.

Besides these there was a nullah, or ditch, a short distance in front (N.-W.) of the intrenchment, by which the enemy pushed on a sap towards us, whence they poured in a near and deadly fire.

Thus surrounding us, the enemy kept up their fires day and night, though the heaviest firing used to be done for about two hours in the morning, and the same in the evening, when each gun used to throw between 20 and 30 shots an hour. The mortar shells were well aimed, as they seldom exceeded their mark and invariably fell into the intrenchment. As for musket bullets, they used to be like hail-storms at times, when some five or six thousand mutineers would surround us on all sides under cover of the compound walls and the buildings in the vicinity.

Battery No. 5, which was recently formed to our east, owing to its proximity, caused us indescribable suffering. How the officers regretted they had not a single mortar in store, otherwise the wretches could never have dared to take up that position, nor could they have caused such fearful destruction to our buildings with their distant batteries! The round shot now began to take fearful effect on the side of the verandah of the pucca barrack in which we occupied a room; the entire range of this verandah was demolished in a couple of days, and the door-ways horribly battered; shots fell inside with tremendous force, penetrating into the brick wall, and splashing the fragments upon the occupants of the room so as to draw blood wherever they hit.

Our room was but a small one, and when the door gave way in this manner, and shots began to fall through it, we had only the two side corners which afforded a little cover, and it was a pitiful sight to see us, one and all, standing against the wall, closely sticking to it to avoid the shots, and even then the bricks and mortar wounded many of us; as a large round shot caught the masonry above, or on the sides of the doorway, throwing a portion of it into the room, it would become dark as night for a while. Mr.

DeRussett managed to get a place in one of the inner rooms for his two children and Mrs. Kight, and her little ones. Mr. Conductor Berrell and family preferred remaining out in the trenches, so we were left to ourselves, and managed to remain in it for two or three days longer.

Very early on the morning of the 13th, a musket shot caught Mercy (the orphan native Christian child, whom Emelina was bringing up) as she lay sleeping in the room, for through the heat she had rolled a little towards the middle, and nobody had observed it—the shot hit her through the brains, and without a struggle she expired; the corpse was then placed outside behind a pillar which had escaped the shots, and in the course of the day the whole of that pillar fell over, and covered it entirely, so that was her grave.

The enemy failing in their attempts to set fire to the thatched barrack, now began to fire heated shells, one of which, fired by a one-eyed invalid subadar of artillery (a pensioner of the British), took effect, for which he received a reward of Rs. 90 and a shawl from the Nana. The barrack caught fire at about 5 P.M. on the 13th June, and that evening was one of unspeakable distress and trial, for all the wounded and sick were in it, as also the families of the soldiers and drummers; the fire took on the north corner of the building, and the breeze being very strong, the flames spread so rapidly that it was a hard matter to remove the women and children, who naturally got into great confusion, and were all frantic with terror, so that the helpless, wounded, and sick could not be removed, and were all burnt, about forty in number. The whole of the medicines were also there and shared the same fate, and all that the surgeons could save was a box or two of surgical instruments and a small chest of medicine. It was perfectly impracticable to save any of the wounded or the medicines, in consequence of the rebels collecting in very large bodies on all sides, ready every moment to pounce down upon us, and our men were compelled to keep to their places in the trenches, and could not bear a helping hand to those in the barracks.

The enemy on this occasion was very strong, as a reinforcement had just been received by them from the neighbouring stations, and it appears they had come with the full determination that day to take us by storm, as they made several attempts, but were successively repulsed by our artillery. Had they come on, on such occasions, there is no doubt they would have defeated us; but it is quite certain that we should have slaughtered more than half of their number, for every man of us was determined to sell his life dearly, and our arrangement was a good one, for each individual had five or six muskets ready charged at his command always standing against the wall, besides swords and bayonets.

Poor Mr. Gill, the Schoolmaster, was among those burnt on that occasion, as also Mrs. Gill, who was then labouring in childbirth and unable to move—their sweet little children (four in number) were left orphans, and in the course of eight days you would not have been able to make them out, they were so reduced from starvation. The women and children were first placed in the trenches on the south corner, and during the night they were removed into the unfinished barrack outside, where our picquet was, but the next day, apprehending a sudden charge of the enemy, they were brought back and put in the godowns adjoining the quarter-guard, which were crowded to excess, and many who had husbands or brothers got into the trenches, where holes were dug and sheltered over with boxes, cots, &c., and the poor creatures remained in them day and night, many dying daily from the heat.

About this time Mr. J. D. Hay, merchant, received a bullet in his temple and died without a struggle. It was singular that just as he had a view of his newly-born infant son (born under very distressing circumstances) the bullet hit him while coming out of the room and laid him a corpse.

CHAPTER IV.

WE kept possession of our room as long as we possibly could, though to stay in it was fraught with danger, and under any other circumstance it would have been impossible for anybody to remain a moment in such a position; but there was no help for it. I looked everywhere for a safer place but did not succeed; our despair at the time cannot be described; we passed a whole day standing, clinging to the walls and crouching in the two corners, to avoid the shots. At last, like rats smoked out of their holes, we were compelled to rush out, daring the shower of iron outside, and climbing up the heaps of ruins in the verandah, got into another apartment; but it was so full as not to admit of another addition. I had some acquaintances among them, but they were unable to receive us; we had therefore to run out again in the same manner, and succeeded in getting into one of the inner apartments. There were two rooms in it, one had been well barricaded with boxes, trunks, &c., and contained a number of officers and their families; but the other was not so well secured, yet it afforded much shelter, and had more than sufficient unoccupied space to contain the whole of us. So we thanked God and took possession of it; but had not been in it above a minute when an old grey-headed officer, who had apparently been asleep, got up, and in the

most rude manner ordered us to go out. We begged very hard to be permitted to remain there only an hour, until the fury of the enemy's battery would abate a little ; but to no purpose, he insisted upon our going away that instant, and at last drove us out of it, threatening personal violence if we did not go. We got out and stood awhile amongst the ruins in the verandah, looking all round in utter despair ; the shots were flying about with great fury, and we could not help but rush into the next apartment adjoining the one we had so unceremoniously been ejected from. This one had been partially abandoned only a short time ago, as the rebel battery, it appears, had been directed upon it previous to firing upon our own apartment, so that we got undisputed possession of it ; but soon found that we had not gained much by the exchange, as it afforded but a little more protection than our old place, and we resolved to make other arrangements in the night.

The only article we were able to bring away with us was our earthen vessel containing a small quantity of water ; and after a while I went over to see if the other things were safe, when, behold ! a 24-pounder shot had struck the chest containing our valuables, and smashed it to atoms ! On examining it I found my watch flattened like a pancake, lying on one side, and some of the gold chains and other jewellery ground down to shreds, and taken along with the shot into the wall. I covered them over with the settrinee, or carpet, placing rubbish over it, and by and bye brought Emelina and Martha to collect the fragments. These the girls picked up and tied in bundles ; but I cannot forget the grief of poor Emelina when the fragments of her deceased parents' likenesses (taken in photograph) appeared to view. They were completely destroyed, and it nearly broke the poor girl's heart.

Finding myself able to move about a little, I joined Captain Kempland's (56th N. I.) section in the south corner of the intrenchment, which was very weak ; and cleaning out a corner in the burnt barrack placed my family in it ; the centre roofing of this building had only been destroyed, but the arcade on either side, which had flat roofs, was but slightly injured, and afforded some little protection ; in fact, the enemy discontinued firing round shot upon this barrack from the time it had taken fire, and thus for three or four days we remained in comparative security in it. Many others, following our example, removed there also, till we had the barrack rather full. However, even this slight security was not destined to last long, for one evening at dusk the whole of our prisoners [there were some two or three under trial previous to the outbreak brought away into the intrenchment, amongst whom was also Jann Mahomed, sepoy of the 56th N. I., of whom I have mentioned at the commencement of this narrative] managed to

make their escape from the quarter-guard, and went over to the Nana, when on the following day his batteries commenced playing, not only upon the burnt barrack, but also on the quarter-guard which was also our hospital for the wounded and sick, and the godown buildings, containing the women and children of the soldiers ; thus our state was as bad as ever. I have since learnt the Nana was greatly pleased with the prisoners when they joined him. Jann Mahomed, sepoy, was made a subadar, and the others received employment according to their merit, or the whim of the traitor chief.

Among the few sirdars and sepoys of the native corps, who remained with us in the intrenchment, was a most loyal sepoy, by name Gobind Singh, of the 56th N. I. He was wounded under the ear and the bullet came out from his mouth, scorching a portion of his tongue and knocking out two front teeth. I pitied this man very much, as he could not eat any thing for several days ; a little sugar and water was all he could use at first, but by degrees managed to munch a little soaked gram. He always preferred remaining near Captain Kempland of the same corps, who liked him much.

One morning, the 17th June, whilst the rebel sepoys were firing away from the new unfinished barracks, we were seated in a corner of the burnt barrack in the intrenchment. Ellen had our infant in her arms answering her innocent smiles, when a bullet hit the pillar outside, and rebounding through the arch struck the baby under the ear, and sliding between the skin and skull stuck over the head. It would no doubt have gone through, but the mother's arm, which was also severely hurt, stopped it. The child shook a little, and to all appearance was dead, but after a while, some signs of life appearing, I put a drop of water in her mouth, when she opened her eyes and began to writhe and struggle in great agony. In this state she lived for thirty-six hours. The bullet was cut out of the skin by one of the surgeons, who directed a wet cloth to be put over the head and cold water dropped on it. She expired at about 8 o'clock the following night, dying away gradually until she resembled the faded bud of a delicate flower. I dug a grave with my Persian knife in the trenches, and placed the body in it wrapped in a few clothes. This, the seventh anniversary of my marriage, the 18th of June, which used to be generally a happy day with us, saw us on this occasion in the greatest distress and sorrow, without the slightest hope of returning happiness, every moment expecting to be either killed by a stray shot or taken by the enemy.

The enemy were now running short of percussion caps (as I afterwards learnt), and all the master-smiths and native gun-makers were seized to turn the percussion locks into flint ones. In the meantime a fleet of about twenty boats, laden with magazine stores and ammunition, &c., reached Cawnpore on the 16th June. This

proved a godsend to them, for there was a large stock of percussion caps on board. The unfortunate Conductor (whose name I have not been able to find out) on duty was not aware of what was going on at Cawnpore till he came within four days' journey of that station, when the zemindars and others thereabouts seized the boats and sent them to the Nana. The two Europeans (Conductor and Sergeant in charge) were murdered without delay by order of the Nana, and the stores taken into the magazine. The water route up-country is always very tedious, and more so in the hot season when the river is generally very low ; thus it must have taken nearly a month for this fleet to come up from Allahabad to Cawnpore !

Almost daily attempts were made on the part of the rebels to take us by storm, but they could not stand our artillery ; and therefore all their batteries were directed upon our guns with the intention of disabling them. In this they so far succeeded that out of eight, but two sound ones remained when the intrenchment was vacated, as will be seen hereafter.

It will easily be imagined, that by this time both our barracks were so perfectly riddled as to afford little or no shelter ; yet the greater part of the people preferred remaining in them and risking their lives rather than be exposed to the heat of the sun outside—although, as mentioned before, many made themselves holes in the trenches for their families, where they were secure at least from the shot and shell of the enemy, though not so from the effects of the heat, and the mortality from apoplexy was considerable. It is well known how severe the hot winds of May and June are, and this year they were excessively so ; at times it used to be like the continuous blasts of a heated furnace, and caused great suffering to those who were exposed to their influence. At night, however, every person had to sleep out and watch by turns, so that nearly the whole of the women and children slept in the trenches near their respective relatives. Here the mortar shell kept them in perpetual dread, for nearly all night these were seen coming in the air and bursting in different places, often doing mischief. Thus those that remained alive existed in perpetual dread and misery.

Mr. David Duncan was attached to my section, and while he was in the trenches, one night his three elder children (two boys and a girl) were asleep in the burnt barrack. A shell dropped in the open space through the roof, bounded in amongst them and burst ; two out of the three were instantly killed ; the other, a boy, escaped uninjured.

I could relate numerous instances of narrow escapes which came under my own observation, though limited was the sphere in which any body could venture to move about, and often for days

one could not learn what was passing on the opposite side of the intrenchment, from inability to venture out and expose one's self to the shots.

It would be useless to attempt to give a detail of the innumerable trouble and distresses to which all were subject in the intrenchment. Nothing could surpass the awful miseries, and the horrible privations, experienced by the besieged garrison. The poor wounded and sick were objects of real commiseration, for their state was exceedingly wretched. The stench arising from the dead bodies of horses and other animals that had been shot in the compound at the commencement, and could not be removed, and the unusually great influx of flies, rendered the place extremely disagreeable.

The soldiers had their food prepared by the few remaining cooks ; but all the rest had to shift for themselves the best way they could ; and it was sometimes a difficult matter for many who had uncooked rations served to them, to provide a mouthful of victuals for themselves and children. The soldiers' cooks and the drummers occasionally lent a helping hand that way, but not without demanding and receiving high prices for their labour. Thus I have repeatedly paid a rupee and a half, and two rupees, for the cooking of one meal of coarse chuppatces and dhal, and that, too, *often* not properly done. The soldiers having always been accustomed to live upon flesh, began to get very weak and felt great longing for meat. On one occasion they managed to get a stray cow at night which came grazing near the intrenchment, and one evening at dusk they shot a stray horse, and regaled themselves upon its flesh ; a piece of the roasted meat was brought by one of the officers in the burnt barrack, who distributed it to numbers of ladies and children. Some approved of its flavour and humourously discussed the subject, whilst others would not be prevailed upon even to taste it.

At dusk, on the 20th June, a young man, by name Farnon, attached to my section under command of Captain Kempland, disguised himself as a Mahomedan and got away from the intrenchment without anybody knowing it. He has escaped, and I have seen him since the arrival of General Havelock's force. He told me that after he had been about a week in the city, he was taken up on suspicion, but managed to pass off by naming certain Mahomedans, whom he knew at Lucknow, as being his relations.

Early one morning, the 21st June, a very great mob was seen collecting all round our intrenchment, their dresses were of diverse patterns and descriptions, for the regular corps of infantry never came out to fight in their full dress. Some few had on their jackets and caps, others were without the former, and nearly the

whole dressed like recruits, a number of the Oude soldiery, or rather tag-rag-and-bob-tail, had joined the rebels at Cawnpore. At the lowest computation the enemy could not have been less than six thousand. They prepared for one last grand attack which they resolved should be crowned with success. As I am told, their newly-created subadar-major of the 1st Native Infantry had sworn upon the "Gunga Jull" either to take us or die. First of all the whole of the enemy's batteries opened upon us a tremendous iron storm, shot and shell, poured down beyond calculation, in the intrenchment, women and children shrunk tremblingly into the barrack rooms and in the holes in the trenches ; in a word, this was one of the most terrific days we passed during our siege.

General Wheeler's son, Lieutenant G. R. Wheeler, of the 1st Native Infantry, was shot in his room by one of the very first cannon balls fired this morning while dressing. The mark of his blood upon the wall of the room occupied by General Wheeler in the flat-roofed barrack has been noticed by many persons since the re-taking of Cawnpore. The enemy brought large bales of cotton, and putting them down, they lay under cover of the same, attempting to approach us in that manner by pushing the bales forward and firing away their muskets from under them.

While all this was being done from St. John's Chapel to our east, three of the new unfinished barracks to the west were filled with a great number of sepoy's endeavouring to drive away our picquet and take possession of the remaining barracks. Here Captain Moore again appeared as usual, and previously arranging with our battery to send grape from the north corner, he took about twenty-five more volunteers from the intrenchment, and advancing under cover of No. 5 barrack, managed to drive the enemy into Nos. 1 and 2, when a few rounds of canister from our north battery routed them out entirely.

In the meantime about a hundred of the wretches under the cotton bales from the church compound advanced in that manner to within 150 yards of the intrenchment. This was intended as an advance force, for shortly after the insurgents in their rear gave a fearful shout, and springing up on the walls made a charge, led on by the subadar-major, who was a powerful-looking man, but the very first shots from our musketry caught him, he took a bound and fell down dead ; a few rounds of canister then properly directed amongst them did good execution, causing a general dispersion.

About the same time the enemy's intrenchment to our south caused us much annoyance, where a body of about 200 rebels kept up a dreadful firing of musketry and nine-pounder shot. I was attached to this corner as described before, and it took us about an hour and a half to silence them.

This day I saw a daring act done in our camp. About midday one of our ammunition waggons in the south-east corner was blown up by the enemy's shell, and, whilst it was blazing, the rebel batteries from the artillery hospital and the tank directed all their guns towards it. Our Europeans being much exhausted with the morning's work, and almost every artilleryman being either killed or wounded, it was a difficult matter to put out the fire, which endangered other waggons near it. In the midst of all this cannonading, a young officer of the 53rd Native Infantry, Lieutenant Delafosse, with the greatest courage went up, and, laying himself down under the burning waggon, pulled away from it whatever loose splinters, &c., he could get hold of, all the while throwing earth upon the flames. He was soon joined by two soldiers, who took with them a couple of buckets of water which were very dexterously thrown about by the Lieutenant, and while the buckets were taken to be replenished from the drinking-water of the men close by, the process of pitching earth was carried on amidst fearful cannonading of two batteries, both firing incessantly upon the burning waggon. Thus at last the fire was put out, and the officer and men escaped unhurt.

Mr. O'Brien of the Cawnpore Collector's office had a most miraculous escape. He was standing in the middle of one of the rooms in the burnt barracks speaking to some friends, when an 18-pounder cannon-ball, fired from the artillery hospital, passed through the window, took off his sola hat, the top part of which was reduced to shreds, and hitting the inner wall, bounded into the corner, and fell with tremendous force upon the legs of a native wet nurse ; she had an officer's baby in her lap, which was not hurt at all, but both the legs of the poor woman were broken below the knee, and she died within half an hour of the accident from loss of blood and pain.

One of the most heartrending sights which I must notice, was the helpless condition of the Reverend Mr. Haycock. The poor man lost his perception entirely. The heat and exposure had affected his head, and for three days and nights his poor aged mother watched over him unremittingly as over a little child ; often would he in his insensible state struggle to get free and roam about, unconscious of the iron storm around us ; but his mother, assisted by others, would manage to keep him in, until he at last expired in her arms. Poor old lady ! it was a pitiful sight to behold her solicitude and watchfulness over her son.

The noble behaviour under distress of some of the soldiers' wives and daughters shall ever be remembered by me with admiration. I have seen them patiently attending upon their wounded and suffering husbands and fathers unremittingly night and day, exposed to all sorts of danger, themselves labouring under sickness,

hunger, and thirst, surrounded by very young children, whose cries and wants at any other time would be enough to send the best of mothers mad; but these self-denying creatures never so much as uttered a murmur, and did all in their power to soothe the sufferings and dying moments of their beloved ones. Such sights were sufficient to cause a heart of adamant to heave with emotions of pity and admiration.

My feeble pen cannot give expression to a hundredth part of all the sights of pity, horror, and sorrow my eyes have seen in that intrenchment. In my own family circle, the fortitude and self-denial of the females were beyond praise; but what made my heart bleed often to the core, was the sight of my sweet child Polly, as she sat in the corner, the very picture of patience (5½ years old), struggling within herself in order not to cause her parents additional pain, to smother the emotions that arose from feelings of hunger, thirst, and other causes. I have often caught her eyes swollen with suppressed tears, fixed sometimes upon her mother's features and sometimes upon mine, with an expression so full of the different emotions that worked within her, yet the desire not to pain us by expressing in words what she wished to say was so prominent, that I could not mistake her; she would sometimes whisper her desires to her servant Thakoorance, at the same time begging her in a most pitiful manner not to mention it to papa and mamma, as they would be grieved,

This old servant's fidelity and attachment to us cannot be sufficiently expressed in words. She was capable of sacrificing her own life over and over for our sakes, and more especially for that of her darling Polly Baba (as she called my sweet child). One very hot day our supply of water having run out, Polly whispered to Thakoorance that she was very thirsty; the old woman immediately got up, without mentioning a word to any body, and braving the storm of shots which were flying as usual on all sides, proceeded to the well (stooping and crawling), and fetched a small brass vessel full of water, which, together with a thin long rope, she always kept by her for her own use. Being a high caste brahmin (Hindoo), she could drink no water but what she herself drew, as there was no other person at hand of her own caste to help her.

The siege having now lasted so long without even a ray of hope of deliverance, many of our men began to get perfectly callous to danger. The sense of our desperate position and prolonged suffering gave such a fierceness to the countenance of our famished and sun-burnt garrison, as it is impossible to describe. Latterly, when unable to bear the cries of helpless women and children for water, some of them would daringly go to the well during the day and fetch the precious and renovating draught, though such were rare instances,

except in the case of a very few desperate characters (European soldiers), who made a trade of it, since it paid very well—they sold the water at so much per bucket; often would they force such of the Christian drummers, as they could manage, to assist them, whom they would give a trifle to prevent complaints. One of these desperate fellows on one occasion happened to see Daniel, my brother, returning from the cook-house, where he had gone to get our cakes baked, and seeing his youth and perceiving him to be of a very quiet disposition, commenced bullying him; and, following him up to where we were in the west corner of the burnt barrack, he commanded him in a most peremptory manner to come out to the well at once. The poor fellow did not know what to do (he had been ill, having only a short time ago been bad with the sun-stroke). He looked at me in a pitiful manner. I tried to persuade the soldier not to molest my brother, but nothing would do for him. Drawing out his bayonet, and pointing it towards my brother, the soldier stamped his foot and swore in a most horrible manner; at last he pounced down upon Daniel as if about to thrust the bayonet through him, exclaiming at the same time that he would “make an example of him.” Finding that no one would come to our assistance, though this scene was going on in the presence of about twenty persons, I myself being too weak to contend with so powerful a man, who was armed and looked like mad, I advised Daniel to go with him, and that I would bring him succour as soon as I could. The poor fellow agreed, and was about to follow the soldier, when our good friend Mr. Twoomey (the apothecary), who happened to be at that time going his round, as was invariably his custom, to see if any needed medical aid, saw our predicament and immediately came forward. He demanded of the soldier, “how he dared to molest his patients?” Hearing this the man desisted and went away grumbling. That same evening he was obliged to be placed in the quarter-guard, as he had drawn his bayonet upon some others, and was pronounced to be not in his proper mind. He died, I believe, the following day from determination of blood to his head.

Another poor soldier, by name O'Dwyer, a gunner and a very nice, well-made man, exposed himself very often going to the well (though he was not one of those who sold water). On one occasion about midday he poured out several buckets of water into the cistern attached to the well, and getting into it, laid down to cool himself. He had not been there above a few minutes, when a shell dropped right into the cistern and burst, breaking one of the legs of the poor man and inflicting several other severe wounds.

The destruction caused in our camp by the bursting of shells was terrible; never a day passed but some one or other was killed by them. It was possible often to guard against the round shot

and bullets, but the shell found its way everywhere, and its bursting was most terrific.

The excitement of the day left no room for any thoughts save those of safety from the shot and shell and the falling in of the walls, &c. ; but at night it was otherwise. When standing alone at my post as sentry,—my comrades and officer, as well as my dear family and relations lying in deep slumber, overcome by exhaustion, fear, and hunger, with no other shelter over their heads save the dark heavens and the slight mound of the intrenchment, the cannons of the enemy as well as a few musketry from the nearer batteries throwing in their iron and lead contents into the camp at certain intervals,—my reflections on such occasions were by no means enviable, especially when the bullets kept passing too near my head and often hitting the sand-bags over the parapet through which we had to keep the look-out. One cannot conceive what a dreadful whizzing noise a cannon shot makes while cutting through the air with tremendous velocity, particularly if one happens to be very near it ; but we became accustomed to such sounds, and merely stooped down or bobbed the head. The monotonous sound of the words “all’s well !” passing at dead of night from sentry to sentry all round our intrenchment at an interval of every quarter of an hour, was another cause of reflection to me ; and during these meditations, how I longed to be able to render some service as might ensure the safety of so many poor suffering women and children and the sick and wounded ! I felt I could risk my life in the attempt to blow up the magazine, which was the sole cause of the enemy’s placing us under such distress. I thought if I could only reach the city in disguise, I should easily manage to get admittance into the magazine as a labourer, and a single match would be sufficient to blow up all the powder. So sure did I feel of being able to do this, that I one day opened my mind to Captain Seppings of the 2nd Cavalry, but he thought me mad. I had also several conferences with Mr. Reilly, the Assistant Commissary of Ordnance, who was in charge of the magazine at the time of the outbreak. He told me his orders were to blow up the magazine as soon as the mutiny should commence, and his not having done so had brought him the displeasure of the General and all the officers ; but he said it was not his fault, for he had from time to time reported how carefully the sepoy guard in the magazine watched him, two of whom invariably followed him about wherever he went while in the magazine, so that he had no opportunity of taking the least step towards the blowing up of the powder. Besides, two days previous to the outbreak he was unable to enter the gate on account of the threats and menaces of the guard sepoys, of which also he told me he had made a report to the General. How deeply we regretted at

the time that we had not taken up our position in the magazine, from the first, or even taken possession of it when the rebel troops had gone off to Kullianpore on their way to Delhi, the first day of the outbreak, as so good an opportunity (as we then thought) had not again occurred of either removing to the magazine or blowing it up. From subsequent information, however, it is clear that such a course, if even attempted, would not have been successful, for about 500 men of the Nana's own select band had been placed in charge of the magazine from the moment the mutiny commenced, and, though the mutineers had marched away to Kullianpore, these were still guarding the magazine, and would have been more than a match for any small detachment we might have sent from the intrenchment. Besides the distance from our camp to that place was, as I have stated before, upwards of six miles, and full of danger in consequence of the bungalows and houses on the way, which would have enabled the cavalry picquet, left behind to complete the work of burning the houses, to attack our men with great advantage; of all this General Wheeler no doubt was well aware, and wisely refrained from exposing the lives of his brave soldiers.

Major-General Sir Hugh Massy Wheeler, K.C.B., Commanding the Cawnpore Division, though one of the most distinguished Generals of the Company's army, was perfectly powerless at Cawnpore in 1857. His health, which had been bad for some time, was now quite broken down from over-exertion and anxiety of mind, and he was not able to move about much; his small force of Europeans, hampered as they were with so large a number of helpless women and children, could do nothing against such fearful odds of disciplined mutinous troops. Though everybody knows that even so small a band of British soldiers were not to be despised, had they been free from every incumbrance and at liberty to act for themselves.

Captain Moore of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment was second in command, and his untiring zeal and constant exertions cannot be too much praised; this officer's presence of mind never seemed to forsake him, and I never saw another officer expose himself so much on all occasions, and yet escape the enemy's shots. The evening our prisoners made their escape, Captain Moore, accompanied by another officer and two soldiers, went about looking for them among the new barracks, and even ventured so far as No. 8 unfinished barrack, adjoining which in No. 9 barrack the rebels had intrenched themselves among the spare bricks of the superstructure, which had only been raised about three feet high; the evening was dark, and he suddenly came upon a number of sepoy who evidently were advancing from their own intrenchment to No. 8 barrack, either to have a nearer shot at us or to reconnoitre. Captain Moore and his companions might have all been taken

without any chance of receiving timely assistance from us, for the sepoy were in a large body. But the Captain, with unusual presence of mind, called out in a commanding voice, as if addressing a force with him, "first section, halt; second section, right about and turn to the left. Steady, my men, and fire at the word of command." Hearing this, the mutineers got alarmed, thinking that the Europeans were going to charge them in a large body, and, making a very precipitate retreat, got into their own intrenchment, whence they fired several volleys upon No. 8 barrack, under cover of which the two officers and soldiers were enabled to retire.

I must not omit to mention here that our people dreaded nothing so much as the setting in of the rains, which was expected daily, and which would have been a calamity exceedingly distressing, for in the first place the holes dug in the trenches for the protection of the women and children would have been filled up; secondly, the walls of the barracks, which though thoroughly riddled still afforded some little shelter, were in danger of coming down, having been well shaken in many places by cannon shot so incessantly fired for twenty days; and, again, our muskets would have been rendered useless, for there were a great many of them, and the men were quite unable to clean them all. These muskets were always kept ready loaded standing against the breast-works, so that when occasion required it, each man could use upwards of half a dozen at a time. In a word, one good shower, such as generally takes place at the first fall, would have rendered the place perfectly uninhabitable and extremely insecure.

It is true there was provision yet left to keep the people alive on half rations for another week; and, as a large quantity of gram had been laid in for the use of horses and cattle, and had not been expended in consequence of our inability to shelter the animals, which had all been let loose at the commencement of the siege, we had a sufficiency of that commodity, and it formed the principal food of all the natives with us, they preferred it to attah and dhal, as it gave them no trouble in cooking, for a little soaking in water was sufficient to make it eatable, and many scrupulous Hindoos lived the whole period entirely upon it. But taking into consideration all the distressing circumstances related above, it is not to be wondered that our brave men so eagerly wished to make a grand sally and dispossess the enemy of their guns, or in case of failure die an honourable death, than be thus tormented by a set of cowardly natives. Many officers also were of the same opinion, but from a false hope of receiving a reinforcement from Lucknow or Allahabad, and in consequence of the natural attachment of the females to

their husbands, fathers, and brothers, such a course was put off from day to day. If attempted it would without doubt have been attended with complete success, as I now learn, that latterly the cannons used to be almost entirely abandoned by the rebels during the night, merely a few golundazes being left to load and fire at intervals ; the musketry also was kept up by a handful of sepoy's placed here and there, more for appearance sake, than with any intention of doing us much injury,—though during the day it was not so, but, on the contrary, every exertion used to be made by the wretches to torment us ; and I now find it was a matter of very great wonder and astonishment, not only to the rebels, but to every individual in and near Cawnpore, how it was possible for a mere handful of people, mostly women and children, to exist so long under such difficulties, without suing for peace or offering terms. However, such a course was in contemplation in the intrenchment when I left. But instead of a proposal of this nature coming from our camp, it was offered by the rebel chief, as will be seen hereafter.

Seeing the distress of my family and relations, we held many consultations among ourselves, being very anxious to get away by any means to the city, where we thought, from want of better information, that we would be secure, as it was generally believed by all in the intrenchment that the rebels so resolutely besieged us only on account of the concentration of all the European military community of Cawnpore, and that the non-military would not be molested if they remained away in their several abodes. Little did we know then that the few poor fellows who did not come, had long since been butchered.

Under this impression several had actually gone away as opportunities occurred, but as I learnt afterwards, were all killed. Among those who thus left were Cattle-Sergeant Ryan and family, Mr Apothecary Peters and family, and one or two others—all of whom left together on or about the 10th June ;—they remained hid in a village for two days, but were found out at last and taken to the Nana, who had them put to the sword at once.

Had I not been wounded at the onset, I really believe I should also have gone out in a similar manner with all that belonged to me ; but this was another means in the hands of God to preserve me, and save my family from being roughly treated and butchered, perhaps under my own eyes. My lips cannot utter my grateful thanks to God for his great mercies in protecting me from the innumerable dangers to which I was every moment exposed in the intrenchment. On one occasion some heavy bricks got detached from the roof and fell within a few inches of me, any one of which might have broken my limbs if not killed me. On another occasion,

it was my turn to fetch our ration of rum. We were supplied with a dram per man both morning and evening, and with great anxiety we waited for it, especially in the evening. The two drams that fell to mine and poor Daniel's share, we used to put in a bottle, and, filling it with water, every member of my family would take a little, and it used to refresh us very much. Well, as I was sitting in the guard-room, waiting the issue of the liquor, an 18-pounder shot hit against the archway, and bounding forward struck the wall three inches above my head ; had I been leaning against the wall, or sitting a little more erect, I should have been a dead man. The distance from the guard-room to the corner of the burnt barrack, which we then occupied, was about 60 yards, and often when returning with the rations, I have been beset with shoals of bullets aimed expressly at me from Nos. 1 to 3 of the new barracks, making me run as fast as my weak state and wounded back would permit : the bullets flying around me, some to the right, some to the left, some over the head, hitting the steps of the barrack in front, till I regained the rooms and was hid from the view of the enemy.

After many consultations, it was considered expedient that I should go and ascertain how matters stood in the city, and early on the 24th June I made my wishes known to Captain Kempland, our commanding officer, who at first tried to dissuade me from undertaking so perilous a task ; but, on my showing him the advantages likely to accrue to us if I succeeded in bringing correct information of the enemy's proceedings, and seeing me speak with much assurance, he agreed, and gave me a note to Captain Moore, recommending compliance with my request. I had much difficulty in finding the Captain, and had to go in search of him in the outside new barracks where our picquet was ; a strange feeling came over me while I thus roamed in search of Captain Moore ; I felt callous to every danger and only muttered to myself, " God's will be done." I at last found the officer in the north corner of the intrenchment, and gave him the note. He read it, and directed me to another officer, whose name I have forgotten, saying that he was sick and had only an hour ago given up the command of the batteries. The fact was, as I learnt from one of the soldiers, that Captain Moore was quite disgusted with the prolonged siege, and in compliance with the repeated solicitations of our brave European soldiers to be permitted to make a bold sally at night and take possession of all the enemy's guns, or die in the attempt, he had made a proposal to the General to that effect, which was not complied with, as our force was not considered sufficiently strong to attempt so desperate an undertaking. The men were quite worn out and reduced to a company of spectres, so that they were not capable of standing their ground, though themselves appeared quite resolute and willing ; this refusal had

displeased Captain Moore, and he therefore had given up his command that morning for a time.

His successor desired another officer near him to take me to the Major of Brigade, who was no other person than my Commissariat Officer, Captain Williamson, having assumed that post only a day or two ago, consequent on the demise or indisposition of other officers qualified for it ; for though so badly besieged, the form of military duty was carried on unremittingly. Station and Division orders were issued with great regularity daily, announcing demises, promotions, &c., &c., written on slips of paper with a lead pencil, for there was no ink or pens to be had for love or money.

Captain Williamson knew me well, and readily consented to my proposal. He addressed a note to the General, strongly recommending compliance with my request, and giving the note to the officer who accompanied me, desired me to follow him to the General's apartment. General Wheeler occupied a small square room in the centre of the flat-roofed barrack ; we found him seated on a mattress in a corner on the floor. He looked very feeble and aged ; his lady and two daughters were likewise seated on the floor in another corner. Mr. Roache, the Postmaster, was also there ; he appeared to be attached to the General since the death of Lieutenant Wheeler. Mr. Roache had been four several times wounded in the intrenchment ; but, as they were all flesh wounds, he was at that time doing well, though reduced very much in appearance.

I forgot to mention that four days previous to this I had, at the instigation of Mrs. Carmody and Mrs. J. L. O'Brian, who were both extremely anxious to get away from the intrenchment, taken upon myself to make a personal application to General Wheeler for permission to leave with my family, but as he was at the time very busy writing (I believe it was a dispatch, for he had written a great deal), he did not understand me properly, and ordered me out of his presence in great anger, saying, "If all the men were to leave, who would man the intrenchment?"

When the officer who accompanied me explained my errand, and delivered Captain Williamson's note, the General immediately recognized me, and said, "You are the same person who wanted to leave me the other day. I cannot trust you." I felt hurt at this, and stated that, "I would not desert the camp on any account, as I had a very large family with me of helpless women and children, who looked to me for every assistance, but that, if I was so disposed, nothing could keep me ; for nothing would be easier for me than to step over the wall at dead of night whilst standing sentry." "This speech convinced the General, and he at once entered into my views. He spoke very kindly to me, and said he would readily give his own life to spare the sufferings and distresses of his people, but

that he was quite at a loss what to do. He offered to reward me highly if I managed to bring him correct information of the intentions and doings of the enemy, as also if there was any chance of our receiving a reinforcement either from Allahabad or Lucknow. The only condition I made was that, on my return if I should wish it, my family might be permitted to leave the intrenchment with me ; this was agreed to. He then, after musing a while, instructed me to go to the Nunnch Nawab (*alias* Mahomed Ali Khan). "He is faithful to us," said the General, "and I can trust him. Tell him to endeavour to cause a rupture among the rebels, and if they will leave off annoying us, or go away from the station, I will do a great deal for him." He further directed me, in case I was unable to find the Nawab, to go to other influential mahajuns, and others of the inhabitants of the city, and if they succeed in assisting us in this respect to promise rewards, I was authorized to offer as far as a lac of rupees, with handsome pensions for life, to any person who would bring about so desirable an end. The officer who went with me happened to make some allusion to the death of Lieutenant Wheeler, and I could not help mentioning that the young officer's loss was felt very much by all in the intrenchment. Hearing this, the old man covered his face with both hands, and burst into a very severe paroxysm of grief, his whole body shook, as if his heart was bursting ; he retired to the very extreme of the corner, and there gave vent to his overpowering emotion in a flood of tears—it was altogether a pitiful and heartrending sight ; when he recovered a little, I asked him, "that in the event of my being taken a prisoner by the rebels, what was I to tell them about the intrenchment?" The General answered—"You have to be careful of three things. Do not let the enemy know that we are discouraged, or that we have been short of provisions ; say that we are able to pull on very well for a month to come : and, above all, let them know that we expect a speedy help from Allahabad."

I returned to Captain Williamson, and while passing through the apartment he occupied, I heard a feeble voice calling my name, and turning round I beheld Mr. McKillop, our Joint Magistrate, lying on a cot on his back. I asked him if he had been ill. He said he was wounded and unable to move, pointing to his thigh, which was covered over with a sheet ; he seemed to be in great pain, but endeavoured to make little of it. He was very glad to learn what I was going to do, and wished me success in my undertaking. Captain Williamson told me I would get a pass after I was dressed in my disguise and ready to start, by waiting upon Captain Moore's successor.

When I returned to the burnt barrack, a great many persons flocked round me to know the result. A few old women commis-

sioned me to get some tobacco, and other necessaries for them. Mr. John Schorne, to whom I was greatly attached, offered to accompany me in disguise, but changed his mind in consequence of Mr. Christie's (of Bathgate, Campbell and Co.'s) family, who had been left to his care by the dying breath of Mr. Christie,—he died only two days ago from exhaustion and heat. A few persons advised me not to go in the day time, but I had my own reasons for doing so. I was aware that the General had, in his anxiety to get information, sent out two or three natives previously, under promises of high reward; they all went during the night, but never returned, and were believed to have fallen into the hands of the enemy. I particularly watched their picquets at a great distance, keeping a vigilant look-out during the night, and felt convinced none could approach us or go out of the intrenchment without being taken by the picquet; whereas, in the day I had observed that, between the hours of 11 and 1, not a sepoy remained in the direction of the new barracks; they evidently went to their meals and left that part entirely deserted, so that I felt sure of being able to get away from there in the day time.

It was already after 10 A.M., and I found great difficulty in procuring native clothes for my disguise. I asked many of the servants to lend me theirs or to sell them to me for three or four times their real value, but none consented. I even offered to make an exchange of my own clothes, but this only caused laughter, as they were none of the best, never having been washed or taken off since the day we were besieged, for in our hurry we had not been able to bring away spare suits with us. Those persons who even had any to spare, had not the heart to put on clean clothes; not being able to take a wash on account of the scarcity of water.

After much trouble I was at last clad in a sepoy's *dhotee* and a cook's *ungurkha* or coat, which was well bedaubed with grease, and altogether very dirty; my hair was cropped short all round the head, leaving a tuft of long hair in the centre, over which a piece of cloth (also very dirty) was wrapped, to represent a cook's turban; added to these was a small stick in my hand, which completed my disguise; I took two rupees and two four-anna pieces, and hid them separately in different parts of my clothes.

While I was about to start, Mr. Roache, the Postmaster, came to me, and said he was sent by the General to repeat to me his injunctions about going to the Nunneh Nawab, or to the influential mahajuns in the city, and to endeavour my best to carry out the General's wishes, and that I was fully empowered to offer the reward of a lac of rupees, as directed by himself. I promised I would do my very best, if for no other consideration than for the sake of my dear family whom I was leaving behind.



Buoyed up with hopes, and trusting in God for success, I took leave of all whom I called mine. Alas ! little did I think it would be for the last time, never again to behold their loved faces !*****

My friends now shook hands with me and wished me success. Mr. John Schorne gave me the half of his morning's share of rum, which he had expressly preserved for me, saying that I should require a little stimulant in my weak state for my undertaking. I promised that I would return by the first favourable opportunity ; but that if I did not come back by the end of forty hours, to consider me either killed or taken prisoner.

I proceeded to the north battery in the intrenchment to receive my pass, and whilst it was being written I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. DeRusset and Mrs. Kight. One of the children had died, but the other three were alive ; they were also in a hole in the trenches sheltered with a settringee and blanket.

CHAPTER V.

TAKING the pass in my hand, I proceeded towards the new barrack outside. Our provision godown was on my way, and seeing its door half-opened I peeped in and saw Conductor Berrell, his wife and daughter, with two or three others inside, they were seated behind a heap of bags containing flour, &c. The old man started to see such a strange figure so impudently peeping in—and his astonishment and anger was the more increased when I wished him “good morning,” but my voice betrayed me. Mrs. Berrell and her daughter recognized me at once ; and, rising, they all came near me and had a most hearty laugh. They then wished me every success, and shaking hands, we parted.

On passing the guard-room, the European sentry, who had not observed me at first, called out to know who I was ; but, pretending not to hear him, I went on at a slow pace. This drew attention, and several persons stood up to see. I could hear them say to each other in astonishment—“Who is that ? what is he ?” and such like queries, till the sentry ordered me in a threatening voice to stop. I did so, but without saying a word, when two soldiers came out ; their looks of astonishment amused me very much—they were half-inclined to be angry, and more to laugh ; they stood looking at me, and asking me every now and then, in Hindoostanee, who I was ?—In the meantime young Bell, whom I had left with Conductor Berrell, joined them, and began laughing ; I then shewed them the pass and went on. The liquor I had taken or empty stomach had made me facetious.

When I reached the new barracks outside the intrenchment, where our picquet was stationed, I went in very gently through one of the doors, and suddenly coming upon some five or six persons, quietly reclining against the wall, stood in the midst of the room without saying a word. My funny appearance and impudent manner made them all start up. Some said, "He is a mad man;" others were at a loss what to think, and with one voice all called out, "Who are you?" I merely grinned a broad grin, and remained as quiet as ever, but the noise brought the officer on duty from the next room, accompanied by Mr. Sheridan, who recognized me. I then delivered over the pass to the officer, and was at liberty to leave.

Passing through one barrack into another I came to the first one without seeing anything, excepting two dead bodies of the mutineers—one was a mere skeleton, and the other just getting decomposed, which reminded me that my own body might probably be thus left to rot in a very short time.

It was my intention to stop and rest myself a little in this first barrack, but, on looking out on the north side of it, I observed two sepoy at a good distance, evidently returning from their meals, making towards this very building; therefore, not considering it safe for me to stay there longer, I got out on the high road.

I had previously arranged in my mind to go to the tank on my way to the city, and, sitting down, to pretend to wash my hands and feet, so that people might think I had come out of the city for that purpose, and accordingly made towards it. On arrival I found it was perfectly dry, and turning round to see if no body had observed me, I saw a cowherd with a heavy stick in his hand following me. This was more than I had expected, and it alarmed me a good deal. I attempted to move on, but he came down into the tank and inquired in the dialect of a villager :

"Who are you?"

I was bewildered, and pretending not to hear him, tried to move on; but he again repeated his question in a very loud voice. I felt I could not pass him without a reply, so, in a feeble voice, and imitating as much as possible the village language, answered :

"I am an unfortunate traveller in great distress, going to the city of Cawnpore to beg for a morsel of bread." Hearing this, the man, to my utter astonishment and dismay, exclaimed :

"No such thing!--you are one from the intrenchment—I saw you coming out!" and upon this he described to me exactly the way I had proceeded from one barrack into another, until I came to the last one, and thence to the public road. I was so confused at

hearing this, that I did not know what to say ; however, I thought it best to deny his charge, so responded :

“ I do not know what you call intrenchment ; I am a stranger, and seeing the first barrack right on the road-side, I stepped in to take a little rest, being overcome by the heat and fatigue ; besides I am quite starved, not having had a morsel of food for some time past.” The cowherd, finding me speak thus earnestly, seemed inclined to doubt his own senses, and in a half musing way said :

“ As I was grazing my cows in that plain near the cavalry lines, I stood under a tree and kept looking at the round shot and shell falling into the intrenchment ; presently after I saw something like a man move out of it towards this side, and my curiosity was so excited that I left my cattle and came up here to see—when I saw you pass into the tank.” I felt that my only chance of escape was to make him believe that he was under a mistake, so I answered accordingly, which puzzled him a good deal. He was half-inclined to believe me, and asked :

“ Well, but when did you come there ? ” (meaning the first barrack.) I replied :

“ Only an hour ago ; do tell me the road to the city, for I am dying through hunger.”

The man now felt pity, for I looked very poorly. He was in the act of directing me where to go, when four sepoy in undress, and armed with swords, came up to us, and called out in a loud threatening voice, “ Who are you both, and what are you doing here ? ” Before I could say a word the cowherd repeated the above conversation, and concluded by saying that it was his belief I had come out of the intrenchment. The sepoy looked at me well, and one of them vociferated :

“ It is true, he is surely one of them : just see his clothes how they are bedaubed with grease and dirt ; he is surely a fugitive from the intrenchment.”

Then, drawing his sword from its sheath, and using a most disgustingly abusive epithet, he advanced towards me, muttering, “ I’ll cut his head off.” I thought all was up with me, and prepared to die ; a second more and my unoffending head would have been laid quivering and writhing at the feet of my ruthless murderer ; but the goodness of Providence preserved me. Another of the sepoy stepped up, and laying hold of his arm drew him back, saying, “ Let the poor fellow alone ; he looks very poor and harmless. Why should you take *huttea* (innocent blood) upon yourself ? Let him go ; you will gain nothing by killing him, and probably he will die of starvation in a short time, as he already looks half dead.”

So, leaving me, they all went their way—probably they were going to take their meals, towards General Gunj, and did not like

to bother themselves much about me. I was very glad, and thanked God in my heart for this deliverance ; and, turning round, was about to take another direction, when, behold, three more armed sepoy were coming behind me from the same place. I did not know what to do, and thinking it more safe to follow those who had spared me, than to fall into new hands, I made towards the first, who were about twenty yards in advance. On coming up out of the tank (there was a bye-path—a short cut through it), a man on horseback met the sepoy in front, and stopped to talk to them, meanwhile I moved out of the path, and was making towards another part of the city, but the sepoy who had drawn his sword at me, pointed me out to the horseman. This fellow was an orderly, a Mahomedan, and was coming from the Nana's camp from Savada, on some errand. He galloped up to me in a moment, and told me to confess the truth as to who I was, or he would blow my brains out. I said to the man, "If you spare my life I will confess the truth ;" he promised, then I stated that, "It is true I have made my escape from the intrenchment, through fear of the shot and shell flying on all sides ; so now do not kill me, but let me go away." On hearing this he said, "You shall not be killed, but come along with me ; you must give all the information about the intrenchment to the Raja Sahib." He then felt about my waist and examined the rags on my head, and found the two rupees and a half, which he took for himself. We then proceeded to a thannah (police station).

The inhabitants in the neighbourhood felt pity and brought me water to drink ; some gave me parched gram and *suttoo* to eat, another man brought a thick *poory* (fried cake) quite hot from the pan, which I ate with relish ; in the meantime a guard of four sepoy and two horsemen was made ready to escort me to the Nana's camp, a distance of about three miles towards the south. When all was ready, they put me in the middle, and we proceeded. The midday sun was overpowering ; having no shoes on, and not accustomed to walk bare-feet amongst the thorns, &c., with which the passage was strewn (as we did not go by any regular road, but through a plain), the wound in my back being still sore, and the exercise made it very painful, I thought I should never have reached the camp ; some of the sepoy were good and would not allow me to be harshly treated. At last we came to the camp, and I was brought to the Nana's tent, but so fatigued and harassed was I, that I could not stand. I sat down on the bare ground and asked for a drink of water. It was given me, and I felt relieved. The Nana was informed, and about 15 minutes after a reply was received that, "the Maha Raja was (making Pooja) at worship, and had ordered that the new prisoner (meaning me) was to be taken to the guard, where the other prisoners were kept in custody."

I was conducted to a grove of a few large mango trees, where a sort of bamboo fence or fold was erected, within which about 25 natives, both male and female, were confined, and four armed men stood at the corners outside with swords drawn; a little apart a great many sepoys and others were picqueted—some stretched out on the ground and others sitting.

After a while I was desired to give my deposition, and was taken to an old man who held his office under one of the mango trees, a few paces away from the spot where the prisoners were kept. This old man was seated on a dirty settringee (carpet) spread on the floor, and around him were a few others seated on the same carpet seeming to be very anxious to learn what I had to say regarding the English intrenchment. As I approached, all eyes were intently fixed on me, and as they, with gaping mouths stared at me, I felt somewhat disconcerted. The questions about to be put to me were such as I was not prepared to answer without hesitation. However, my presence of mind did not forsake me, and my previous knowledge of matters of this nature (for I had often had occasion to take down depositions of natives connected with my office) enabled me to go through my answers tolerably. The first question gave me an idea, as quick as lightning, what more would be forthcoming, and by the time the old man had wiped his spectacles and adjusted his writing materials, I arranged in my mind what I should say. I thought to myself, if I pass for a Mussulman, the *Kulma* (Mahomedan creed) would be asked me; if for a Hindoo I knew nothing at all what creed they held as the test of their religion; as for any other Indian religion I was almost as deficient in my knowledge of them as the above. However, since I knew I must pass for a native, it was immaterial to me whether I was to be one of high or low caste—I decided to pass for a Chummar (a very low caste who hold no particular creed) as being the most feasible, and I accordingly prepared to give my answers.

I was desired to state my name.

I answered, "Budloo" (I had a Chummar servant in my employ previous to the outbreak, and just thought of his name).

Then I was asked my father's name? I hesitated a little, not knowing what to say, when another of my servant's names occurred to me, and I answered:

"Jhundoo."

The next question was, "What is your caste?"

I immediately answered, "Chummar."

Then the old man asked me, "What is your occupation?"

I said, "A cook."

"Cook of officers or of soldiers?"

I answered, "Of soldiers."

After this I was questioned as to my place of residence. I considered a little, for I thought if I mentioned Cawnpore, they will wish to know my neighbours, and of course my inability to point out any would prove the whole of my statement false; so I answered, "I am an inhabitant of Allahabad."

This was not considered sufficient, and I was desired to name the locality or village. Now I was greatly puzzled, for I knew nothing of Allahabad except that I had lived in the cantonments when a child. I fortunately thought of a name which I used often to hear, though I did not exactly know what particular part of that station it was, so I replied Keet Gunj, thinking that would suffice; but how great was my alarm when I was ordered to particularise the street in Keet Gunj. I felt I was done for, and to gain time began to think, saying, "I had just forgotten it."

In this dilemma a thought came to my aid. I was aware that in all large cities almost every street has a wood stall, and I suddenly answered:

"Near the woodstall."

This, to my delight, was considered a satisfactory answer, and the examination proceeded by my being asked to state what I knew of the intrenchment from which I had just made my escape.

I answered, "I know nothing of the intrenchment. I was kept entirely in the kitchen, and watched by the soldiers very carefully for fear of my running away, as very few servants were left there, mostly all having deserted at the commencement of the attack; therefore, I am quite unable to tell you the state of affairs in it."

No sooner had I uttered this, than a number of voices were raised all round me, vociferating: "This is a falsehood—strike him—strike the———" (using a most disgusting epithet). "If he was so carefully watched, how did he then make his escape this morning?"

Hearing this I was perfectly dumbfounded, and the fellows made towards me as if about to strike to make me confess the truth. Here again a happy thought quickly suggested itself. I said:

"Soldiers went out very early this morning to the new barrack, carrying their dead from the intrenchment to throw into a well there, and I bore a helping hand, but while their attention was engaged I slipped away from the well, and remained hiding among the heaps of bricks lying there, until I got an opportunity to get away."

This completely satisfied the fellows, and they began to coax me, saying, "Surely you must know how much provision is left, and what is the number of fighting men still alive?"

I replied, "Well, I will tell you as far as I know. I have often *heard* the soldiers say, while in the cook-house, that they can pull

on with the provisions for another whole month." As soon as I said this, all the fellows with one voice uttered in great astonishment, "This is altogether false;—don't believe him;—we know full well the "*Feringees*" (using most abusive expressions) "are starving; they have nothing but a little gram left, and this two women prisoners will confirm."

Upon this two ayahs (who had been taken by the rebels some three or four nights ago in attempting to escape out of our intrenchment) were called and confronted with me. These women had given out that nearly all the provision was out in the intrenchment; that the people subsisted only on soaked gram; that most of the fighting men had been killed as well as the ladies and children; that only a few were left alive and in great distress, and likely to die away shortly. But I said :

"If you wish to believe these timid women, who never stirred out of their hiding places for fear of the shots, and who certainly got gram to eat, as such was the case with all native servants, you are at liberty to do so, and therefore it is not necessary for me to give you any further information." I said this in so firm a tone that they were quite at a loss which party to believe. I added that about 20 or 25 soldiers had died from the stroke of the sun and very few from the shot and shell, also a good many women and children were dead from fright and heat, but that there were sufficient fighting men still left to defend the intrenchment, and all were determined to fight to the last. This displeased them much, and they gave utterance to sundry shocking abuse. I was then asked, if I knew whether the intrenchment was undermined all round, as was currently believed. It immediately occurred to me that this was the chief dread of the wretches, and prevented their coming too near the intrenchment,—and I afterwards learnt that such was really the case, or rather the cowardly miscreants made this their greatest plea for not taking us by storm,—so I answered that I did not exactly comprehend what they meant by that word, but I could most positively assert that powder was buried in several places in the intrenchment, though I could not properly point out the place to them.

This confirmed their worst fears, and my deposition was at once taken to the Nana, when I heard that a council of war immediately assemble to decide what should be done, since the army was getting daily discouraged at our holding out so bravely, day after day, without suing for peace, and they had no chance of ever taking the intrenchment by storm. All this I gathered from the murmurings and suppressed whispers of the sepoys who were lolling under the trees, as mentioned before.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, a man, having the

appearance of one in authority, came to me and asked if I could tell whether the officers and Europeans were anxious to leave the station, and if, in the event of an offer being made to that effect, it would be accepted. I replied that I could not exactly tell, but that the females were certainly anxious to get away by any means, and for their sakes no doubt such an offer would be accepted if made in a satisfactory manner. He then asked if I should have any objection to go back to the intrenchment with a letter to that effect. I assented, but the man seemed to doubt whether I would really do so, or merely wished to get out of their hands by making this promise. He then went away, and I saw him no more.

After I had been a couple of hours a prisoner, we got an addition to our number in a short man about twenty-five years of age, dressed as a mussulman—he was brought in by two sentries, his arms were bound very tightly behind him; on reaching the post one of his captors gave him a push and he fell over. This was a Christian drummer of the 1st Native Infantry, named Mendes, he had managed to get away from our intrenchment after five or six days' firing, and having disguised himself as a Mahomedan, remained hid in a faqeer's garden on the banks of the Ganges. Here, after some days, he met a sepoy of his own corps who recognized him, and, pretending friendship, offered to put him in a better place of security. Mendes consented, and that very morning (24th June) accompanied the sepoy to proceed to a village. The sepoy, however, had his own motives in this, for as soon as he found the drummer properly in his power he laid hold of him, and, binding his arms tightly, took him before the Nana's tent, expecting to get a reward for apprehending a Christian. One of the brothers of the Nana came out, to whom the sepoy reported that he had brought a Christian who was in the habit of conveying loaves of bread at night to the Europeans in the intrenchment, and received as price sixteen rupees per loaf; that he had himself seen the prisoner do so several times. But the drummer stoutly denied the charge, saying that he was a Mahomedan, and was living peaceably on the banks of the river with a faqeer; that the sepoy had brought him in that manner out of spite only, and that his accusation was false; for if he did see him so often take the loaves of bread to the intrenchment, why did he not seize him with the supply on his person? As Mendes was crying all the while he spoke, and there was a doubt about his being a Christian, they directed he should be kept in the guard for trial hereafter.

Thus the drummer joined me, and was a sort of help-meet to me all the while I remained in that trying situation, as will be seen hereafter, though at that time we had not the remotest knowledge of each other. After a while his arms were released and his deposition

taken. He gave out his name to be Yaqeen Mahomed, but the prisoners afterwards used to call him Cheerag Ullee.

Towards evening a whispered rumour went round that an old lady from among the Christian prisoners (the name of old Mrs. Greenway was mentioned by all) was sent with a letter from the Nana to General Wheeler offering terms, and that there would be no more fighting after that. Oh ! how happy I felt to learn this information, knowing the distress of all in the intrenchment ! Now, thought I to myself, my poor wife and family will get away in safety to Allahabad, and no doubt I shall also be let go in a few hours, and then what a joyful meeting we shall have ! Little did I suspect at that moment what was actually about to take place.

As hour after hour passed away, my anxiety to be released became greater, till I was unable to bear it any longer, so I asked one of the guardsmen if he thought I would get my liberty soon ; his reply was a burst of the most shocking abuse, accompanied by threats to beat me if I dared again utter a word to him.

A dust-storm now rose from the east, followed by a patch of cloud, which poured down its contents upon us ; it was but a slight shower, yet quite sufficient to wet us. I was drenched to the skin, and the dirty clothes on me became very offensive, the wound also in my back and the sores swelled out and smarted dreadfully. I took the cook's dirty *ungurkha* off my back, and sat in the breeze.

The subadar of the guard reported to the Nana that he did not consider the prisoners, whose number was increasing daily, safe to remain in that open place any longer, and proposed to remove them into the hospital of the 2nd Light Cavalry. He was ordered to do so, and accordingly about sun-set we were all conducted by the guard to that place. On the way the sepoy took care to place the prisoners towards the side of the English intrenchment, in order that any shots coming from that direction might be kept off from themselves, as they were on the opposite side and under cover of us ; many bullets passed over and on the sides, but none hit us, and we walked away as fast as we could.

What occurred after this to the English garrison was at first enveloped in mystery. I had heard various accounts of their sad end, both while incarcerated in the rebel jail, as well as after my release. Being deeply concerned for the fate of my lamented lost family and relatives, I left no stone unturned to arrive at the truth. Some reliable particulars I gleaned from the few survivors, whose names will be found in the appendix, and the greater portion were collected from the statements of intelligent native residents connected with the British, who themselves were sufferers while the insurgents held sway at Cawnpore. The people at that time were apprehensive of giving any information on this

mournful subject to the European authorities, for fear of being considered implicated in the doings of the rebels ; but, knowing me well, they were unreserved in their communications to me. When recording the information I had thus gained, I was resolved not to allow my mind to be biased in any way, but simply to relate facts to the best of my judgment ; and it is satisfactory to find, that what I had related in my first manuscript, are, in the main, in accordance with the information subsequently collected by Government under the direction of Colonel G. Williams, Commissioner of Military Police, N.-W. P., by whom upwards of sixty native and other witnesses were examined on oath on the subject about the latter end of 1859. Of this I have now availed myself ; it enables me to add further particulars to this narrative, which now makes the record as complete and clear as practicable.

The offer of terms, written in English, from the Nana to General Wheeler, was brought on the evening of the 24th June, by Mrs. Henry Jacobie, who was a prisoner in the Savada house along with Mrs. Greenway and others, as stated at page 33. The rebels had ceased firing a couple of hours previous to the dispatch of this message, and the garrison were at a loss to know the cause of this unusual inactivity on their part. After a while Mrs. Jacobie was seen coming ; she waived a handkerchief, and was allowed to approach the intrenchment. The document was taken from her hand and conveyed to General Wheeler. It had no address on it, nor was it attested by any signature, and ran thus :—

“All those who are in noway connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, and are willing to lay down their arms, shall receive a safe passage to Allahabad.”

The General was, therefore, obliged to return the paper to Mrs. Jacobie, saying that he could not recognize any thing sent in this way. Next morning, the 25th June, about 9 o'clock, Mrs. Jacobie brought it again properly addressed, and the General appointed an hour that day for an interview with any person whom the Nana might send to arrange matters. Accordingly, about noon, Azimoolla Khan with Brigadier Jwala Pershad, and one or two others, came to the garrison, and were received in one of the unfinished barracks outside the intrenchment, by Captains J. Moore, H. M.'s 32nd Regiment, and C. Whiting, Engineer, Canal Department, as well as by Mr. Roche, the Postmaster, whom General Wheeler had invested with full powers to act in the juncture.

Azimoolla, who could read and write English, attempted to open the conference in that language, but was prevented by the others. It was agreed that all money and the magazine stores, with the guns, should be made over to the Nana, and that he in return should provide carriage for the ladies and children, as well as the

sick and wounded, to the river bank ; that covered boats with a supply of provision on board should be supplied, and that every individual in the intrenchment should be allowed to proceed to Allahabad unmolested. It was also stipulated that the English should march out under arms from the intrenchment with sixty rounds of ammunition to every man for their safety on the way. This agreement was drawn up in writing, and signed by General Wheeler, then taken to the Nana at his camp, who returned it duly signed and ratified by a solemn oath.

“Twenty-four boats, lying at the Customs ghât, were seized, “and every exertion was made to prepare them for the reception of “the British. Four hundred workmen were employed in expediting “the work. The boats were then moved down to Sutteo Chowra “ghât, and a committee of three officers went on elephants to “inspect them, who directed certain necessary alterations to be “made.”

As the enemy had ceased firing from the afternoon of the 24th, and as all hostile proceedings were now stopped on both sides, the ladies and children in the intrenchment were enabled to wash and change their apparel, which they could not do since the 6th June. The 26th was occupied in preparing for the journey, though there was not much to do in that way. Joy and hope beamed in every countenance, all were glad and rejoiced at the prospect of a happy release from their troubles, except a few (among whom was my poor wife Ellen), whose hearts were bleeding from the heavy affliction they had met there, and where the remains of all that was dear in life were being left. The well in which our dead had to be thrown, contained all the treasure they possessed—and, oh ! with what feelings of anguish they must have parted from the spot !

The rebel troops were greatly concerned at the delay that occurred in the departure of the English. They said, “Now that the Europeans have washed and dressed, and have had time to rest, they will not go away at all ; they have held out so long, now they will be able to hold on longer.” The cause of this delay is attributed to the Nana’s brother, who, with Azimoola and the head men of the 2nd Light Cavalry, was deliberating plans of treachery,—whether with or without the consent of the Nana is not certain. To satisfy the rebels, it was proposed to bring away at once all the uninjured guns and the treasure from the intrenchment. Accordingly Brigadier Jwala Pershad and two others presented themselves before General Wheeler, and offered to remain in the intrenchment as hostages, if their request to this effect were complied with. This was agreed to ; and the guns, two of which only were at all serviceable, and the money, amounting to one lac and thirty thousand rupees (£13,000), were made over to them that evening, the 26th June.

All was quiet in the intrenchment, as Jwala Pershad had caused a strong guard of cavalry and infantry to be placed all round, with the plausible excuse of guarding the place, though in reality it was done to prevent the possibility of any one escaping during the night. At night a musket, accidentally discharged by a mutineer, caused a panic; the whole rebel force was alarmed, and immediately opened fire on the intrenchment; but Jwala Pershad sent messengers and set things aright.

Early in the morning, Saturday, the 27th June, a number of carts, doolies, and elephants were sent to the intrenchment by the Nana for the transport of the Europeans to the river. The elephant generally used by General Wheeler, with its howda and driver, was brought and was occupied by Lady Wheeler and her two daughters, while the General, not feeling disposed to have himself look conspicuous under existing circumstances, rode on a galloway.

The evacuation of the intrenchment commenced at about 6 A.M. "A truly sad spectacle it must have been to see that noble little band, that had for twenty long days, in the hottest season of the year, kept at bay their numerous blood-thirsty foes, defended simply by a low mud wall, barely four feet high, with a shallow ditch, not worthy the name of intrenchments, and yielding only at last from compassion to the weak and helpless innocents, whose sole reliance was their brave hearts and sturdy arms, with a vain hope of shortening their sufferings and securing their retreat—sturdy men, delicate women, that had never hitherto known an hour's privation—tenderly brought up children, whose every want had been anticipated,—sad, indeed, must it have been to see them now reduced by privation, soiled with unremitting labour, and the absence of even the common necessities of life, scorched by an Indian sun and the fierce simoon, tattered and torn, weak and wounded, hastening on with eager steps and beating hearts to the cruel fate awaiting them, all unconscious of the base treachery planned by their foes for their destruction." *

The whole rebel band had assembled on the occasion to see the English depart, and now rushed into the garrison; their number was so great that there was hardly any place to stand; some eight thousand armed men were crowding the intrenchment and occupying every inch of ground. The English were entirely in their power. The sepoys hastened them on, saying, "Come to the boats; all is ready." The number of the sick and wounded at this time was rather large, as I had myself seen when leaving the intrenchment; and in the confusion and hurry which ensued, and want of

* Extracts from Colonel Williams' report are thus entered under inverted commas.

sufficient carriage, some twelve helpless patients were left behind, not with the intention of being abandoned, but to be sent for as soon as the doolies could be spared.

It is said that the number of the English who came out that morning from the intrenchment, including women and children, could not have been less than 450 souls. Immediately on leaving the ground, a general scramble for plunder took place of all the property abandoned by the garrison. The sick and wounded were then dragged out in the centre of the intrenchment, and, after being abused and mocked, were cruelly butchered.

An aged Colonel, said to be Colonel Ewart of the 1st Native Infantry, having been wounded a few days ago, was being carried on a bed by four coolies, followed by his wife on foot. As they were about the last to leave the place, they were a little in the rear, and when passing St. John's Church, they were stopped by the sepoys of the Colonel's own regiment, who, it appears, had some particular grudge against that officer. Two of them advanced, and, pretending to feel very sorry for his sufferings, offered to carry him in their arms. They made him put his arms over the shoulders of each, and lifting him up by the legs, carried him to one side of the church, where, after mocking and repeating to him the angry expressions he sometimes used towards them on parade, they cut him to pieces with swords, and afterwards slew Mrs. Ewart also.

The British garrison in the meantime passed on their way in seeming confidence and trust, surrounded though they were by thousands of mutineers and insurgents, believing that those who had bound themselves to see them safely depart would keep to their promise. Not so, however, with the traitors. Unmindful of the Nana's oath and promise, on the previous evening at sunset a consultation had been held in the Nana's tent, at which Bala, Azimoola, Teeka Singh, and others were present, when it was decided that the British should be massacred on the banks of the river. "Orders were issued accordingly for the destruction of the doomed garrison, which were carried out as follows:—At an early hour in the morning, some five hundred mutineers, with two guns, marched to the Sutte Chowra ghât. One gun was placed with a party of sepoys in the ruins of the house lately occupied by Mr. Christie, and which, being built on a height, commanded the whole line of boats. A body of mutineers were placed in the Chore ghât nulla, running between the above-named house and the village of Sutte Chowra; another party of twenty-five men were secreted behind some timber, whilst a party of sowars were drawn up south of Hurdeen's (or the Fisherman's) temple, at which the chief executors of the Nana's orders (the principal of whom was Tantia Toppee) were seated attended by an armed body of retainers. About a

“quarter of a mile below the first Fisherman’s temple, there is a
 “second, named after its founder Bhugwan Dass, at which a gun
 “with a company of mutineers was posted during the siege for
 “protection of the ghât, but were withdrawn, whilst the officers
 “inspected the boats, that suspicions might not be excited. This
 “gun with a large band of rebels and insurgents re-occupied its
 “former position on this occasion. About eight hundred paces
 “below this again, at Koila ghât, a third gun and its attendant party
 “were placed. The two latter pieces commanded the river for
 “some distance both above and below, and could hence rake the
 “boats as they lay at the Sutte ghât, as also any that might
 “succeed in getting away and floating down the stream. Still
 “further precautions were taken on the Oude bank of the river :
 “the 17th N. I., 13th Native Cavalry, and two guns being concealed
 “there behind a sandy ridge, the former to intercept any fugitives
 “attempting to escape towards Lucknow, and the latter to fire
 “upon any of their unhappy victims seeking shelter on the outer
 “or river side of the boats ; a party of horse and foot were also
 “told off to follow the garrison, and on their reaching the wooden
 “bridge. which commanded the Sutte Chowra ghât, to form up
 “there in line as a firing party : thus every avenue of escape was
 “guarded with fiendish acuteness, and the doomed band completely
 “hemmed in by their blood-thirsty yet cowardly foes. These
 “arrangements were carried out by Tantia Topee with the assistance
 “of Teeka Singh, Brigadier Jwala Pershaud, and a Russaldar named
 “Kukkee.”

The garrison by this time had reached the wooden bridge over the ravine, which at this point runs into the Ganges after crossing the main road some 300 yards from the river bank ; leaving the road here on the left hand, they turned aside into the ravine, which led to the Sutte Chowra ghât, or landing place, being a distance of about two miles from the intrenchment ; here they found the boats waiting for them—but, alas ! with but few exceptions, they had all been hauled into the shallow and made to rest on the sand, on purpose to cause delay. They were the ordinary country boats, 30 by 12 feet broad, and were covered in by heavy roofs of straw. A vast multitude of spectators had assembled to see the English depart.

Meanwhile the embarkation was progressing, though not without difficulty. The officers and men, standing in the water, helped the wounded and the ladies and children in the boats ; all were busy and anxious when they should be able to start. It would appear that not many amongst that vast multitude of spectators were aware of the dastardly treachery that was about to be enacted. “A Government camel sowar from Agra, who had brought

“and safely delivered a dispatch from that station for General Wheeler the previous evening, was told by the General to wait at the boat side for a reply. Both he and the elephant driver, who had brought Lady Wheeler, remained till the firing commenced, which they could scarcely have done to peril their lives had they suspected treachery.”

“Suddenly, at about 9 A.M., a bugle (the signal for firing) was sounded by order of Bala and Azimoola; the first shots were discharged by some troopers of the 2nd Cavalry, and by the parties concealed in the ruins, on the heights, and behind the timber; followed simultaneously, as by magic, by the roar of cannon along the bank, instantaneously taken up by the guns and the 17th N. I. on the Oude side. Amidst this frightful scene and hideous din, the proverbial coolness and intrepidity of Englishmen did not fail them. The fire of their fell foes was at once returned from the fourth boat on the line, and every exertion made to get themselves clear, but most of the boats were grounded in shallow water, whilst few had boatmen provided, and even those who had were speedily deserted by their false crews—three of whom, moreover, named Ram Deen, Chooneca, and Gureeba, procured from Bithoor, and in the pay of the enemy, set fire, as previously directed, to the thatch of several of the boats, whereby many of the wounded, unable to move, were burnt to death! The others leaped into the river, seeking shelter from the fierce storm of grape and musketry on the outer or river side of the boats, being unaware of the precautions taken, as already stated, to meet the contingency, on whom the guns and 17th N. I. placed for the purpose, now played with murderous effect. As the numbers decreased from being slain and drowned, the fire slackened, and the troopers posted near Hurdeen’s temple urged by Bala Rao and Tantia Topee, entering the river massacred those still alive. The Protestant and Roman Catholic clergymen are said to have been thus cut down by a trooper of the 2nd Cavalry. Women and children were also mercilessly slain. One lady, spared by a sepoy, fell the next moment by the club of an insurgent villager, many of whom took an active part in the massacre.”

Lieutenant Delafosse relates:—“No sooner were we in the boats, and had laid down our muskets, and taken off our coats, in order to work easier at the boats, than the cavalry gave the order to fire; the two guns that had been hidden were run out and opened fire on us immediately, whilst the sepoys came from all directions and kept up a heavy fire; our men jumped out of the boats and

instead of trying to get the boats loose from the moorings, rushed to the first boat they saw loose. Only three boats got safe to the opposite side of the river, but were met there by two field pieces guarded by numbers of the cavalry and sepoy of the 17th N. I. Before the boats had gone a mile down the stream, half of our small party were either killed or wounded, and two of the boats crippled and swamped. We had now only one boat, crowded with wounded, and having on board more men than she could carry; the two guns followed us the whole of that day, and the infantry fired on us the whole of the night."

Another witness relates:—"The order was given by the 2nd Cavalry to open fire on the English; two guns that lay concealed were run out and opened upon the fugitives, whilst the sepoy, crowded from all directions, poured volley upon volley of musketry upon them. Those who escaped the shots and the burning of the thatch, jumped into the water and tried to swim across, but were picked off by the bullets of the sepoy, who followed them on shore. After a while the large guns ceased and the cavalry troopers entered the river on horseback and cut numbers down. The gentlemen and soldiers were hunted from one place to another and hacked to pieces. One young lady, recognized to be the youngest daughter of Colonel Williams, was seen by a sepoy behind a boat, who lifted his sword at her, when she said, "My father was your commanding officer and treated you all so kindly, why do you kill me?" The sepoy felt pity and left her; but another fellow, who had a club, came forward and dashed her brains out. When the males had all been put to the sword, the order to cease firing was given by the cavalry, and the poor women and children that survived were brought out of the river and collected on the bank. Many of them were wounded with bullets and sword cuts; their dresses were wet and full of mud and blood; they were ordered to give up whatever valuables they might have hid upon their persons."

And now the most inhuman, most heart-rending and terrible of all cruelties took place. The barbarous savages forcibly snatched away the infants from the arms of their terror-stricken and helpless mothers, the girls were restored, but all the males were cast upon the ground and trampled upon. The troopers placed their feet upon one leg of the innocent babes, and holding the other with the hand, tore their tiny bodies in two, and pitched them into the river amidst the fearful and agonising shrieks of their mothers. Children, somewhat grown up (males), were bayoneted, shot, and cut down with swords.

The rest of the females, some 120 or 130 poor sufferers, were then taken to the Nana's camp, a distance of more than four miles, walking under a July's sun, many with bare feet, having lost their

shoes in the river, suffering under their wounds, and stupified by the fearful ordeal through which they had just passed. They were placed in the same pucca building, called *Savada Kothee*, in which Mrs. Greenway, her son Edward and family, and Mrs. Henry Jacobie and children were confined, and who had not been permitted to join the garrison on its march to the river side. For the first three days no attention was paid to them beyond giving them a small quantity of parched gram for food, and water to drink, leaving them to lie on the hard ground without any sort of bedding, mats, &c.

One poor woman, Eliza Bradshaw, of the 56th Native infantry, tells her pitiful story in the following words: "My two sons, who were the prop and stay of my old age, accompanied me and their wives and two children with the rest of the garrison, from the intrenchment to the river on that fatal day. When the rebels opened fire upon us, my sons escaped the shots, but some of their own corps rushed up and were hacking them down with swords. I ran and fell upon their bodies, endeavouring to save their lives. I entreated the hard-hearted murderers, in the most supplicating manner, to spare my sons, reminding them that they were of the same corps, and had always behaved kindly towards all in the regiment. No notice was taken of me beyond pushing me aside and completing the foul deed upon my poor innocent sons. Then came the time for murdering the male children; my little granddaughter, two years old, was examined, and on finding her to be a girl, the man who held her was so disappointed that he in a rage cast her away into the river; her fall in the water saved the poor child's life. My two daughters-in-law and myself were not placed among the other females; we managed to get away to the city and passed off for beggars. My little grandchild would constantly urge me to go to the river side, and look for her father, and on being told that he is dead and not there, would beg me with tears in her eyes to put my hands under water, and search well, that possibly he may be hid under the waves.

Another old woman, who also was saved on that occasion in a similar manner, named Elizabeth Letts, of the same corps, has a most heart-rending tale to relate. She also endeavoured to save the life of her son John Letts, but without success. His poor wife being far advanced in pregnancy, received a bayonet thrust into her stomach from a sepoy, after which another brutal fellow struck her with the butt end of his musket. The poor woman did not die immediately, but her sufferings, as described by the old woman, were truly pitiful. For three days the unfortunate creature lingered in the utmost pain, and died in the city, where Elizabeth Letts had managed to bring her away together with her two grandchildren.

Mrs. Murray, wife of the pensioned drum-major of the 56th Native Infantry, is also one of the survivors of the massacre on the 27th June. She was wounded in several places, and left for dead on the bank of the river; and appears to have been tended by her only son named Benjamin Murray, who had been hiding in the city from the beginning of the outbreak, disguised as a Mahomedan, who took her away to Allahabad when General Havelock's force arrived at Cawnpore.

General Wheeler was not in the boats that had got off, as reported by some, who state from mere conjecture, taking it for granted that the General must have, as a matter of course, gone into the first boats. He was stepping into a boat when the firing commenced, and presently after one of the troopers made a cut at him with his sword; the head was severed and fell with the body into the river. Of this the two old women state themselves to have been eye-witnesses.

CHAPTER VI.

I MUST now return to myself. When we reached the cavalry hospital it was dark. A light was brought, and the prisoners classified into groups, according to their different castes; the prisoners taken from the intrenchment, viz., Mendes, Chayday Khan, and myself, were kept separate from the rest, as also the two women, who were permitted to remain quite apart in a corner; these women were released in about eight days. A strong guard of 25 sepoy was placed outside the building, and eight sentries were made to stand inside, having their muskets with bayonets fixed. One-half of the building, which had no partitions, was taken up by the subadar, jemadar, and the non-commissioned officers, &c., of the guard, who spread the hospital cots for themselves, and were very comfortable. Such of the prisoners as had a spare sheet or so, spread the same on the dirty floor, but the rest laid down on the bare ground. I, of course, had nothing, so I divided the "dhootee" in two, and it was just sufficient to spread under me. I knew not when I fell off to sleep that night, for I was very tired and exceedingly miserable on account of my thoughts for the dear ones I had left behind.

The whole of the following day I was very unhappy—every hour appeared an age—my forlorn state was unbearable. I spoke to nobody, but was keenly alive to every fresh report about the intrenchment that reached the jail. "Arrangements were being made to let the English go away from Cawnpore." "What was to

become of me?' was the thought constantly before me. 'What must my wife and relations be thinking of me?—they must think me dead!' I felt like a wild bird in a cage. How my heart fluttered within me as each moment of the forty hours I had proposed for my return to my family was passing away! I was in a fever of anxiety. Night arrived, and I was still a prisoner. What horrible dreams I dreamt! Was I awake or was I asleep?

Next day I found myself very ill both in mind and body. About 4 P.M. (26th June), a number of sepoy from other corps came to visit the guard people, they spoke very exultingly, "that the (*dhoos*) intrenchment was to be vacated at last." By their conversation it did not at all appear that treachery was meditated by the rebels; the sepoy seemed to be delighted at the idea that there would be no more fighting. I was all attention, and gleaned quite enough to convince me that the English were to leave by boats on the following morning. I could no longer control my feelings, and resolved to expose myself by asking the subadar to have me released, for I argued within me, "if the Europeans are to be permitted to go away, surely no objection can be made to my joining them too, especially if it is made known that I have left a large family in the intrenchment." Therefore, watching my opportunity, and seeing the subadar—a benevolent-looking old man, a Hindoo—passing near me, I got up and said, "I have something very important to communicate." He stopped, and asked me what it was. I told him, "I am not what I have stated myself to be. I came out in this disguise merely to find out a place of safety in the city where to hide my family, as they were in great distress in the intrenchment." This disclosure astonished not only the subadar, but the whole of the prisoners with me, and on mentioning my name and occupation, one or two voices pronounced they knew me. Having been upwards of four years a resident of Cawnpore, I was well known, though none could make me out in that disguise. The subadar at once believed my statement, and when he learnt my respectability and the number of my family, he became favorably inclined towards me and pitied me very much. He promised to make a report about me, and have me released early on the morrow. He said it was too late that evening for him to go again to the "Raja Sahib," as he had only just returned from making his daily reports, and could not think of troubling the "Maharaja Jee" again that day.

With what feverish anxieties, hopes, and fears I laid myself down to sleep that night! I felt quite sure I should be released on the morrow and be permitted to join my own. Oh! what joy thrilled my heart at the prospect of so happy a meeting! "Was it not arranged beyond a shadow of doubt that all the British subjects at Cawnpore were to be allowed to go? Was I not also attached to

the English camp and entitled to the same privileges? Surely, then, I would—I *must*—be set at liberty the moment I was brought to notice!" Thus did I reason with myself, and fell off into a sound and refreshing sleep.

When I awoke it was sunrise, the subadar was dressing to go. I called out to him and reminded him of his promise. He very kindly gave me hopes, and left for the Nana's camp. Hitherto I had not the remotest idea of treachery on the part of the rebels. I had but one all-engrossing thought—that of the subadar's return and my own liberty—and when, at about 7 o'clock A.M., I was taken out along with a few others for water at the well (for I had no vessel to take any, and had to use my hands for a cup), I perceived the plain all round, as well as the intrenchment, covered with an immense concourse of people—reminding me of some great fair—I was quite at a loss what to think of it.

About an hour after, while seated inside the hospital, anxiously looking out for the subadar's return, the report of three guns was suddenly heard. The people in the jail thought it was a salute for the evacuation of the intrenchment; but when no more guns were fired they could not make anything of it. Immediately after several other reports at some distance, and in the direction of the (*ghât*) bank of the river, where the Europeans were to embark, were heard. A deep silence ensued in the jail; all listened attentively, and the idea of treachery for the first time glanced in my mind; yet I was disinclined to entertain it, and remained in the utmost state of anxiety for about two hours, when a number of sepoys belonging to our guard, who, it appears, had gone to join in the plunder which took place that morning in the intrenchment, returned with their booty. One man had picked up a gold watch which he did not know what to do with—he proposed to pound and melt it, and convert the gold into ornaments for his wife. The fellows stated that they had only gone to plunder the property abandoned by the "*Surwas*" (meaning the English) in the intrenchment, and did not witness the occurrence on the banks of the river; but that they hoped not one of the "*Feringee Solas*" had been spared, as arrangements had been made to entrap and kill them. When I heard this, my heart died away within me; and, seeing my grief, some of the prisoners pitied me, but many taunted with bitter words, casting in my teeth the comforts I had enjoyed. A Mahomedan khidmutgar, who had for some time been in the employ of the Commissariat Officer, and who was now a prisoner among the sowars of the new levy, was the foremost in his insults, as also a Mussulman tailor. These said, in a mocking way, "Where are your comforts now? No servants to come to your call? You folks always had the best times; you never stirred out but a horse or a

carriage was to take you ; see how the tables are turned now. Those of the Feringees, who are not killed, will be turned into slaves." Thus the wretches kept teasing me for some time, but became quiet when they found I took no heed of what they said. Very often I have been taunted in this manner by the people in the jail, but I always took good care not to appear to take the least notice of them, so they ceased doing so after a few days.

The subadar returned at about 4 p.m., and seemed to avoid me very carefully, for he passed me at a great distance with his face averted. However, I was determined to know the worst, and begged the sentry to permit me to speak to the subadar at the other end of the hospital. He gave me permission, and as I had not to go out of the room, he merely turned his face toward me, while I stepped up to the subadar. When he saw me coming he could hardly look me in the face. I asked him if he had succeeded in obtaining my release according to promise. He said, "No, he had not been able to see the Maharaja at all, although he had been waiting till 4 p.m.; that the "Raja Jee" had his attention engaged with other matters, and had not time to attend to him." Then, seeing me so sad, he said in a kind manner, "You had better keep quiet, and remain where you are; you do not know what has occurred." I desired him to explain himself, but he told me in an impatient manner not to tease him, "as he could not tell me any thing more." I was obliged to return to my corner and remain quiet.

As yet nothing decided was known to us in the prison as to what had actually occurred, and I was fain to hope against hope that no treachery had taken place. All native accounts agree in stating that the Nana did not go to witness the slaughter on the banks of the river. He is said to have remained in his tent all the while, and even to have expressed compunctions of conscience at the treachery that was about to be enacted, saying, that he had taken a most solemn oath to allow the English to leave in safety, and therefore would not accord his consent to their slaughter; but his younger brother, "Bala Sahib," a greater villain than the Nana, backed by Azimoolah Khan and the Mahomedans of the 2nd Cavalry, over-ruled his decision, and took it upon themselves to conduct the foul deed, saying that they had taken no solemn oath nor bound themselves by promises, and therefore were perfectly at liberty to do as they liked. They accordingly arranged everything as has been related, and by their influence and example caused the whole of the troops, both Hindoos and Mahomedans, to join in the treacherous act. There is no doubt, however, that the Nana was but too glad to find that his fondest hopes were realized.

That evening (27th June) the Nana had a general review of

all his troops, said to consist of corps, or portions of corps, as follows, which had joined at Cawnpore from time to time since the 5th June, bringing with them what Government treasure fell into their hands and making it over to the Nana:—

2nd Regiment Light Cavalry,	} of Cawnpore.
1st, 53rd, and 56th Regiments,	
Native Infantry,	
A Battalion of Golundazes,	} from Lucknow.
1st and 2nd Oude Irregular Cavy.,	
2nd Regiment of Oude Native	
Infantry,	
A Horse Battery with 4 guns from the East.	
17th Regiment Native Infantry,	} from Azimgurh.
13th Irregular Cavalry,	
12th Regiment Native Infantry,	} from Nowgong.
14th Irregular Cavalry,	
No. 18 Light Field Battery,	
Detachment of 10th N. I., from Futtehgurh.	
Do. 6th Regiment N. I., from Allahabad.	
Three Nawabee Corps, from Lucknow.	

Two Half Regiments of newly-raised Infantry at Cawnpore.

Besides a great mob of zemindars, &c., of neighbouring districts who came well-armed to assist the Nana.

These assembled on the plain of Savada on the south of our vacated intrenchment; there three salutes were fired from the heavy guns, one of 21 guns for the Nana as Sovereign, 19 guns for his brother Bala Sahib as Governor-General, and 17 guns for Jowalla Pershad (a Brahmin) as Commander-in-Chief, after which the so-called Governor-General made a short speech to the army, praising them for their great courage and bravery in obtaining a complete victory over the British at Cawnpore, and promising them a lac of rupees as a reward for their labours, which, however, was put off from day to day, and the army never saw a pice of it. The Nana and his staff then returned to their tents under the same salutes.

I will not trouble the reader by detailing my thoughts and sufferings of every day and every hour; it will easily be imagined how I must have felt in that space of suspense and uncertainty, both as regarded my own self, and especially on account of the fate of the beloved ones from whom I was separated. When the havildar of the guard (a ruffianly-looking man) perceived that I was very restless and kept awake some parts of the night watching the sentries—for I had resolved to make my escape by the first opportunity, and would have done so had not my weakened state kept me hesitating and prevented my attempting it—he caused my

right arm to be tied with a rope and attached to his own cot, and appointed an extra sentry specially over me, remarking at the same time that I was a dangerous chap, and "capable of slipping away even through the roof." "See how well he disguised himself," said he; "but," he added, speaking to me, "you will find your match in me; I have not lived to be 45 years of age for nothing! and mind you, if you attempt to run away, you will be shot on the spot, so be careful what you are about." I was kept tied up in this manner for two days, allowed only twice a day to accompany the other prisoners to the well to get a drink of water; after that, when the hospital began to be overcrowded with new prisoners (all natives), brought in by dozens daily from the villages, &c., I was removed to the centre of the building, where all eyes could see me, and my arm was loosened. Mendes the drummer had greatly attached himself to me. He was of great help to me all the time we remained in confinement; he would do his best to keep my mind diverted from sad thoughts by keeping me engaged in talk, though I had not the heart to enter into conversation. The native prisoners were mostly composed of villagers taken in the act of plundering and causing disturbances among themselves. Some were zemindars, who refused to recognize the Nana's claim to the revenue due by them to the British Government. Two very young men of high caste, said to be exceedingly rich, were among the latter and in heavy irons. Others were taken merely on suspicion of being favorably inclined to the British, though they strongly protested against such false accusations. There were also two or three unfortunate mendicants supposed to be spies; and, to crown all, a poor maniac, found on the streets, was also taken and placed in the jail, his hands were tied carefully behind him, as his struggles were such as to require two or three men to keep him down. When rendered thus helpless, he kept talking all sorts of foolish things, which often caused much laughter and amusement to the other prisoners.

I was unable to obtain correct information that day (27th June) of what had actually occurred; but on the following day a few cavalry men came over to talk with the guard sepoys of our prison, and what little I could gather from their conversation, which was being carried on at the extreme end of the hospital buildings, was too horrible for my bewildered and astonished senses. I clearly understood that the male portion of the English garrison had been treacherously murdered on the river side. How the trooper exulted while relating this part of the terrible occurrence! How one had killed two officers with his sword, and how, while one gentleman was hiding behind a boat, his friend put a pistol bullet in his head from behind! Every word they repeated was accompanied by an abusive epithet, such as "*surwa, feringee,*" and "*sussoor gorewa,*"

and other horrible expressions. I do not now remember all what these villains were repeating then, but my feelings were so shocked at the time, that I sat as it were spell-bound, the sense of hearing only remained acute, every other sense being suspended and wrapped up in horror and astonishment.

Oh ! but it was torture to my breaking heart when they commenced to brag and boast about their conduct to the ladies. They said, " We have saved as many *bebee logues* as possible for ourselves ; they are very handsome and fair and will easily be persuaded to become Mahomedans ; they will be distributed to the most deserving of us in a few days ; they are for the present kept in the Savada Kothce." " What do you think," they continued talking among themselves, " some of our fellows actually ran away with their selections *from the river side* ; a row took place between two troopers about a handsome young lady, and was the cause of an order being issued to return all *Feringee* ladies to the Savada Kothce." Such were the conversations of these wretches on this occasion, and many more horrible things they uttered. Each man had his own story to tell of the fiend-like atrocities he had committed upon the males, or was meditating with regard to the females.

There is not the least doubt but the troopers would have successfully carried out the evil intentions for which they had spared the females, as they took the lead in everything (though they were the greatest dastards at heart), and openly declared they did not care for the Nana. They even went to greater lengths in this usurpation of authority by causing every proclamation issued by beat of tom-tom to be accompanied with the words " hookoom sipah bahadur ka" (*i. e.* by order of the brave soldiery). I am informed that the Nana had brought upon himself the contempt of the Mahomedan portion of the 2nd Cavalry from the time he interfered with the butchers in the city. On or about the 18th June, two butchers, seized by the Hindoos in the act of slaughtering cows, were brought to the Nana, by whose order their hands were cut off, and they died from loss of blood ; this caused a revolt on the part of the Mahomedans, who held a consultation amongst themselves and argued thus, " Who has made this Nana a ruler over us ? Is he not a creature of our own hands ; and can we not appoint any one else we like ? If he has already commenced interfering with our creed, and preventing cows being killed, which is not only lawful, but is necessary to our very existence, how much more will he not meddle with our other religious callings when he is firmly established in authority, and when our common enemy, the English, shall have been completely exterminated ?" Thus arguing, they proceeded in a body to the Nana to call him to account for causing the butcher's hands to be cut off. In the meantime the Nana was informed of what was

going on, and immediately ran out with bare head and bare feet in the sun to meet the troopers, and with clasped hands begged their pardon for what he had done, promising never again to interfere in this respect, and that the Mahomedans were perfectly at liberty to kill as many cows as they liked, only that they were to do it in a retired spot. The troopers, I am told, used much abusive language on that occasion to the Nana, and threatened to displace him if he did not do as they desired. From that day the 2nd Cavalry Mahomedans held the Nana's authority in contempt. On the 20th June these lawless troopers arrested their Brigadier-General, Teeka Singh, for having sent to his own home two cart-loads of ghee and sugar seized upon the roads belonging to some Mahajun; from which he was released after much begging and entreaties both on his own part and that of the Nana. The fact is, the troopers became jealous of Teeka Singh, for he had been amassing a great deal of money derived from plunder and confiscation, and also on account of his having been presented by the Nana, as a mark of his favour, with an elephant and a pair of gold bangles, besides other *khilluts*.

All these facts were, of course, unknown to us in the intrenchment. It is clear that the rebel troops, as well as their chiefs, were sick and tired of the prolonged siege of our garrison, and would no doubt have left us of their own accord in a few days; or if one bold sally were attempted by our people about the period I am alluding to, a complete dispersion would, in all probability, have taken place of the rebels; or even had I been permitted to reach the city unmolested when I came out in disguise, something most assuredly might have been done, for I should certainly have gleaned sufficient to know the true state of things. A promise of pardon and reward to the Hindoo portion of the mutineers would have completely gained them back to us, for they appeared to be very sorry for what they had done, and were heard to say so to the city people. In this latter belief I am the more convinced from the fact, which I forgot to mention before, of a Hindoo sepoy having, on the 21st June, after the fight I have described of that day, while we were besieged, crawled upon all-fours by a narrow drain which runs from the barracks in the intrenchment, to the road bridge near St. John's chapel. He was unarmed, and came up to about ten paces of the trenches. As soon as he appeared to view, and before the officers could prevent it, two soldiers fired upon him, and he expired instantly. This caused much regret, as it was the belief of many in our camp that this sepoy was coming to seek pardon for himself and his comrades without reference to the rebel authorities, and would no doubt have assisted us in arranging for our departure in safety. He was no doubt sent by the Hindoo

portion of the sepoy on some favourable errand to us, and his death perhaps deterred others from approaching us, for he came in the day, and his comrades in all likelihood were watching him from the church compound and elsewhere to see if his attempt was attended with success.

Now to return to the thread of my narrative. The Mahomedan troopers would without doubt have carried out their wicked design upon the helpless creatures detained in the Savada House, but the circumstance of Miss Wheeler having killed the sowar at night, as related below, had the effect of deterring the wretches from having any thing to say to the English women, and they gave up all idea of receiving them at the hand of the Nana, as had been arranged previously ; thus, with the exception of a few, all were saved from dishonor, though the main object of sparing their lives was with that intent. The miscreant Nana, and his brother Bala, however, had their own views on this subject, as will be seen hereafter. A few, about ten in number, had been taken away to the city from the banks of the river by the Mahomedan troopers, but were restored to the Savada House, with the exception of one or two, on hearing the proclamation to that effect issued by the Nana. Some five or six drummers' wives and other young women of dark complexion escaped, and afterwards were converted to Mahomedanism and retained in the city by the rebels, and even permitted to go about at large, the "AUTHORITIES" either not being cognizant of the same, or, if so, not caring much about it. Nearly the whole of these women were abandoned by the rebels on the occasion of their flight when General Havelock re-conquered Cawnpore, and were taken up by our troops.

The youngest daughter of General Wheeler, said to be about 18 years of age, was carried away from the river bank by a young trooper of the 2nd Cavalry, named Ali Khan, and hid in his house, where she, at night, finding a favourable opportunity, secured the trooper's sword, and with it, after killing him, his wife, and three children, threw herself into a well and was killed. This was the report circulated at Cawnpore at the time, and met with ready credence every where, though "subsequent inquiries, made by our police, lead to a strong conviction that this was a mere fabrication, and that the poor young lady was carried away to some place of safety, and afterwards accompanied the flight of the rebels, and remained with her captor under a Mahomedan name."

The anguish of mind, after I had overheard the conversation of the troopers on the 28th June, may be imagined, for it is impossible to express my feelings in words. I felt but one desire, and that was to die ; yet I would fain hope against hope, and think that as so large a number of females was saved and kept

alive in that building, possibly some, if not all, belonging to me might still be alive,—nay, I fancied that all mine were saved and brought away with the rest to the Savada kothce. That building now became the centre of all my hopes and speculations, and this alone sustained me and prevented my sinking into despair, for I felt I should yet be enabled to see them.

A sharp-looking lad, of about 16 years of age, being the brother of one of the sentries in the jail, came somewhat near me on the 29th June, and began to converse very freely with some of the prisoners. He seemed to know a good deal about the English prisoners, and I engaged him in conversation. He told me that upwards of a hundred ladies and a few children were confined, and among them he had seen gentlemen also. He had probably seen Mr. Edward Greenway and his son, who, it will be remembered, were all the time in that building, since old Mrs. Greenway had promised to give a ransom of two lacs of rupees for their release. This lady and her family, as well as Mrs. Jacobie and children, were not allowed to accompany the rest of the garrison to the boats. The lad spoke so surely of all the *country-born men* having also been spared with the women, that I readily believed him, and took the first opportunity of speaking to the subadar, begging him to have me also removed from among the native prisoners and placed with my friends in the "yellow building." At first he would not agree, but on my pressing him much, he promised he would obtain permission on the following day. I was much pleased at this, for I had the prospect of knowing of a certainty which of my relatives were left alive.

When I found that the subadar had allowed the next day to pass away without having me removed among the English prisoners, I became very impatient, and cared not for my own life; moreover, the treatment I was receiving along with the native prisoners, made me quite callous to existence. Many of the prisoners, who pitied me, as well as Mendes the drummer, endeavoured to comfort me, but I was like one beside himself. I reminded the subadar, every time I happened to see him, of his promise, until he became sick of it. He would say he was at a loss how to make a report about me to the authorities, as he did not get a favourable opportunity. The fact was, he knew perfectly well what would be done to me the moment it was known outside the jail who I really was, and he did not wish to take (*hutteeah*) my blood upon his head, and for this purpose he tried to evade my entreaties as long as he possibly could. He was really a good man; and in justice to him I must say that it was entirely to his kindness I am indebted for not being exposed to the Nana.

The Lord our God, who controls all events, and without whose will not even a sparrow can fall to the ground, placed me in the hands of a man who would not willingly have me killed. In my despair I asked the subadar to let me have a little paper, pen and ink, and I would write a note to the Nana, which he would not have any difficulty in delivering. I said, whatever might be the issue, I would take all the blame upon myself. Many people prevented me from taking such a perilous step, but I was firm in my demand. The subadar, finding I would not give in to him, desired the jemadar of the guard, in whose custody alone were kept the records of the jail, to comply with my request. Ordering this, the subadar whispered something into the jemadar's ear and went away. Two hours passed away and the jemadar had not supplied me with the writing materials, and I was afraid to ask him, for he was a very foul-mouthed man, every word he uttered was accompanied by some shocking abuse. I resolved many times to ask him, but shrunk back when I looked at his uninviting features. At about 2 p.m. the parched gram, on which alone we were made to subsist, was brought for issue, and each prisoner had to go and receive his allowance before the jemadar. When my turn came I took the opportunity of reminding him of the subadar's permission. Hearing this, he stared at me, and said, "You say you are a clerk of the Commissariat, and know all the rules and regulations, how can you then, being a prisoner, ask me, who am attached to the guard of the prison, for writing materials? Do you want *me* to be punished on your account? Go away, you shall have no such thing from me," and he kept on muttering to himself, "How nice a thing it was to think of the prospect of bringing down upon his own head the wrath of the ruling powers, for the sake of a miserable prisoner," mixing up many flourishes of abuse at the same time with his speech. I felt quite disgusted and came away, resolving to find out some other plan to gain my views. After meditating a long while, an idea struck me as being the best, and in the evening when I saw the subadar, I told him, "I have been refused the writing materials you ordered; and you do not seem to be inclined to bring me to notice. Will you do one thing, for I am very miserable here, getting only parched gram to eat, which does not agree with me; besides I cannot rest at peace without learning if any of my family are living among the English prisoners. All I ask of you is, to take me with you when you go next to make a report, and say, "Hitherto this prisoner was in the disguise of a native, but now he has mentioned what he really is, and therefore he has been brought here for fresh orders." The subadar listened in astonishment and was about to refuse me, when I added, "You only take

me there and leave me to speak for myself. No blame can be attached to you, and if any evil betides, it will rest only on my head." When he found I was so bent upon going, he promised to take me the following morning.

The subadar was in the habit of going to make his daily report to the Nana at 7 A.M. every day, and sometimes once in the evening also. As soon as I woke from sleep next morning, the 2nd July, I looked to see if the subadar was not gone, but it was very early yet, and wanted good one hour for his usual time to go. It was the practice in the jail to take prisoners out morning and evening in batches of 25 or 30 at a time, the sentries keeping watch all round. Every man in the jail was made to go in his turn, as there was no more going out during the day.

This morning I joined the very first batch in order to be back in time to accompany the subadar ; but the fellow, it appears, was watching me, and as soon as I went out he dressed himself and came to the spot I used to occupy, and asked the other prisoners about me, saying he had come to take me with him according to promise. Had he been in earnest he would surely have waited a little ; but he went away telling the people to inform me when I returned, that he had inquired after me. I will not say how sad I felt when I learnt this, and regretted my having gone at all that morning. Mendes and others, however, advised me very earnestly to remain quiet where I was, and not to seek to hasten my own destruction, so I thought better of it, and resolved no more to trouble the subadar. There is not the least doubt but that I should have been killed had the subadar complied with my request ; and when I reflect on it now, I cannot help thinking what madness had seized me to have got on in the manner I did at the time.

I cannot describe in words one half of my sufferings whilst I was in the hands of the rebels ; but, thanks be to God, notwithstanding all those trials, His hand sustained me, and at last brought me out safely from every danger. When I compare in my mind my own trials with what the poor helpless women and children must have undergone—delicate ladies and tender children, brought up amidst every comfort and luxury, never subjected to an unkind word or rough usage, now placed in the power of a horde of savages, brutes whose tongues emitted venom and abuse at every move—what must they have felt ? Oh ! the very thought is maddening.

A wild-looking, grey-headed sepoy, with sunken cheeks and round goggle eyes, long face, and tall thin body, had lately joined the prison guard from a week's leave of absence. This fellow did not know me, and one evening while I was following a batch of prisoners to the rear, I happened to be next to him ; the breeze being strong at the time, the cloth over my head flew off, and before

I could adjust it again, he had seen my features properly. Oh, how astonished he looked ! He hastily stepped back about ten paces, all the time keeping the muzzle of his musket presented to me, and his eyes, starting out of their sockets, fixed upon me ;—for a time he lost his speech, and when he did regain it, he could only utter in a breathless and confused manner—“Gorewa”——“eh-too Gore-gore-gorewa hai !” I did not know what to make of this, and hastened to get between the other prisoners ; but no sooner was my back turned upon the sepoy, than he ran up, and gave me such a severe blow with the butt end of his musket, on the spine between the shoulder-blades, as to knock me over. He was just going to repeat the blow, when another sepoy who knew me stopped him. I got up with difficulty and joined the others, but the pain continued for several days. The sepoy was severely reprimanded afterwards by the havildar of the guard for taking upon himself to strike a prisoner.

In the meantime the rebels on the opposite bank of the river had followed the three boats which had floated clear off the ghât on the morning of the 27th, which contained a number of officers, soldiers, and families. Two of the three boats had been swamped before they proceeded a mile. Some who could swim joined the remaining boat which was a-head, but the rest of the inmates of these two boats (number not known) were captured by the troopers and massacred at once, with the exception of 17 individuals.

“At 4 P.M. of the 27th June, the sowars of the Irregular Cavalry brought in 17 Europeans who had escaped from the boats, and presented them to the Nana, who ordered them to be killed. They were shot by the sepoys and sowars on the plain west of *Savada*; those amongst them who were merely wounded by the musketry were cut to pieces by the executioners.”

The remaining boat now got into the full force of the stream, but being crowded with the wounded, and having on board more than she could well carry, made but slow progress. Here I continue Lieutenant Delafosse’s narrative :—

“We had now only one boat. The two guns followed us on the Oude bank the whole of that day, the infantry firing on us the whole of the night. On the second day a gun was seen on the Cawnpore side, and opened on us at Nujjubgurh, the infantry still following us both sides. On the morning of the third day, the boat was no longer serviceable; we were aground on a sand bank, and had not strength sufficient to move her. Directly any of us got into the water, we were fired on by thirty or forty men at a time; there was nothing left but for us to charge and drive them away, so fourteen of us were told to go on shore and do what we could. Directly we got on shore the insurgents retired, but having followed

them up too far we got cut off from the river and had to retire ourselves, as we were being surrounded; we could not make for the river, but had to go down parallel with it, and came at the river again a mile lower down, when we saw a large number of men right in front waiting for us, and another lot on the other bank should we try to get across the river. On this bank, just by the force in front, was a temple; we fired a volley, and made for the temple, in which we took shelter, losing one man killed and one wounded; from the door of the temple we fired on many of the insurgents that happened to show themselves. Finding they could do nothing against us while we remained inside, they heaped wood all round, and set it on fire. When we could no longer stay on account of the smoke and heat, we threw off what clothes we had, and each taking a musket, charged through the fire. Seven of us out of twelve got into the water, but before we had gone far two poor fellows were shot in the water. There were only five of us now left; we had to swim whilst the enemy followed us on both banks wading and firing as fast as they could. After we had gone about three miles down the stream, one of our party, an artilleryman, to rest himself, began swimming on his back, and not seeing in which direction he was swimming, floated to the shore and got killed. When we had got six miles, firing on both sides ceased, and soon after we were hailed by some natives from the Oude side, who asked us to come on shore, and they would take us to their Raja, who was friendly to the English. We gave ourselves up and were taken six miles inland to the Raja, who treated us very kindly, giving us clothes and food. We stayed with him about a month, as he would not let us leave, saying the roads were unsafe. At last he sent us off, on the 29th July, to the right bank of the river to a zemindar of a village, who got us a hackery, and we took our departure on the 31st to Allahabad, but meeting a detachment of the 84th on our way, we marched up with them to Cawnpore."

The names of these four survivors are—

Lieutenant Mowbray Thomson, } 53rd Native Infantry.
Lieutenant H. Delafosse

Private Murphy, H. M.'s 84th Regiment.

Gunner Sullivan, 1st Company, 6th Battn. Artillery.

After the fourteen men were told off from the boat, as related, a host of insurgents attacked the helpless people in the boat, which was at last captured by a zemindar named "Baboo Ram of Dourea Kheyra," near Futtehpoore, and the fugitives, about 90 in number, of whom about 50 were males, were sent back on carts to the Nana. They reached Cawnpore on the 30th June, and that same day all the males were brought out to be shot. Among them were recognized Captain Seppings, 2nd Cavalry, Doctor and Mrs.

Boys, Lieutenant Daniell, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Cooper of the E. I. Railway, and others. A few of the 2nd Cavalry troopers selected Captain Seppings, and begged, as a special favour, to save him alive, but were over-ruled by Teeka Singh and a lot of others.

On every occasion, when a request of this nature was made by any one, either to spare a child or man—and many persons were desirous of getting some young European children to adopt—no sooner did they make their wishes known than the Mahomedans would get round and repeat a Persian verse as follows:—

“Atush kooshatun wa ukhgur goozastan,
 “Uffaice kooshtun wa buch-aishra neegah dashtun,
 “Kar-i-kheerud-mundan naist.”

That is to say, “to extinguish the fire and leave the spark, to kill a snake and preserve its young, is not the wisdom of men of sense.” Besides this, whenever a Mahomedan found the *lifeless* body of a European or Christian lying anywhere, he immediately drew out his sword, “with a *bismillah*,” and made a gash upon the corpse, repeating the words, or some such words as “Soonut-ool-huq-i-Kafar-un.” This act is considered by them to be equivalent to *killing* an infidel, and adds to their claim for entering Paradise after death.

The ladies were directed to leave the gentlemen, and when compelled to do so, they shook hands all round and separated; excepting one lady, supposed to be Mrs. Boys, the wife of the Surgeon of the 2nd Light Cavalry, who with her child clung to her husband and could not be parted—she begging to be killed first. Order was then given to the sepoys to fire upon the prisoners. Captain Seppings sued for a few minutes to pray; this was allowed. They knelt down and prayed—the last prayer their mortal lips would ever utter;—and now a volley of musketry opened upon them, killing a few and wounding many. The wretches then fell upon them with swords and completed the cold-blooded, cruel, slaughter. The bodies were dragged away and heaped up at the west corner of the compound of the “Savada House,” after being stripped of all their clothes, which the sweepers took as booty. In that spot the remains of the poor fellows were left to become the food of wild beasts and birds of prey.

Captain Seppings’ wife is said to have obtained a lock of her husband’s hair after he was killed, by giving a gold ring to one of the sweepers who happened to be known to her.

The ladies who were brought away from the last boat, having been captured by the villagers and detachments of the infantry, were not subjected to the indignity of being so closely searched as those who were taken on the 27th June, so that they were enabled to save what little jewelry and valuables they had upon their persons.

After this the whole of the women and children, now amounting to about 160 or 170 in number, were allowed dhal and hand cakes once a day, and remained up to the 2nd July in the "Savada House."

CHAPTER VII.

HAVING thus disposed of his enemies, the usurper now found himself holding undisputed sway over Cawnpore and its districts. "The Nana took his seat on the throne as Paishwa; the sacred mark was affixed on his forehead, salutes were fired, and the city illuminated at night in honor of the occasion; orders issued from Baboo Bhutt's office for tehsildars to send in revenue, and for arrangements to be made for distributing rewards with gold bangles to the mutineers."

The camp at Savada was ordered to break up, and the women and children removed to the east of the canal. They were laden upon common country carts, and surrounded by an armed escort; a great mob of the city people and others followed some distance on the sides and in the rear. Many of the helpless females covered up their faces as they sat huddled up with drooping heads. It is known how slow these bullock hackeries move, and what severe jerks they give. Many a poor woman and child was suffering from wounds received on the banks of the river, and the distress they must have undergone may easily be imagined. One of the ladies, I am told, got down to make room for others, intending to walk all the way, but a sepoy, having a rattan in his hand, gave her several severe cuts on the back, and loaded her with the most disgusting abuse.

In this manner they were brought to a small flat-roofed house near the assembly rooms, an out-building of the Medical Depot lately occupied by Sir George Parker. Here they remained in close custody, receiving only a small quantity of dhal and chupattées daily for food. It is clear the miscreant Nana had evil motives in keeping these women alive, for he appointed a wicked creature named Hoosainee Khanum, also styled the Bagum, to have the superintendence of the ladies, and she was instructed to persuade the helpless females to yield to the Nana's wishes. This message, I learn, was conveyed to them with great subtlety, accompanied by threats and hopes; but it is gratifying to find that it was received with just indignation by all, and with a firm resolve to die, or to kill each other with their own hands, should any forcible means be employed to dishonor them. The Nana, finding them so resolute, tried to gain

CAWNPUR

PART II

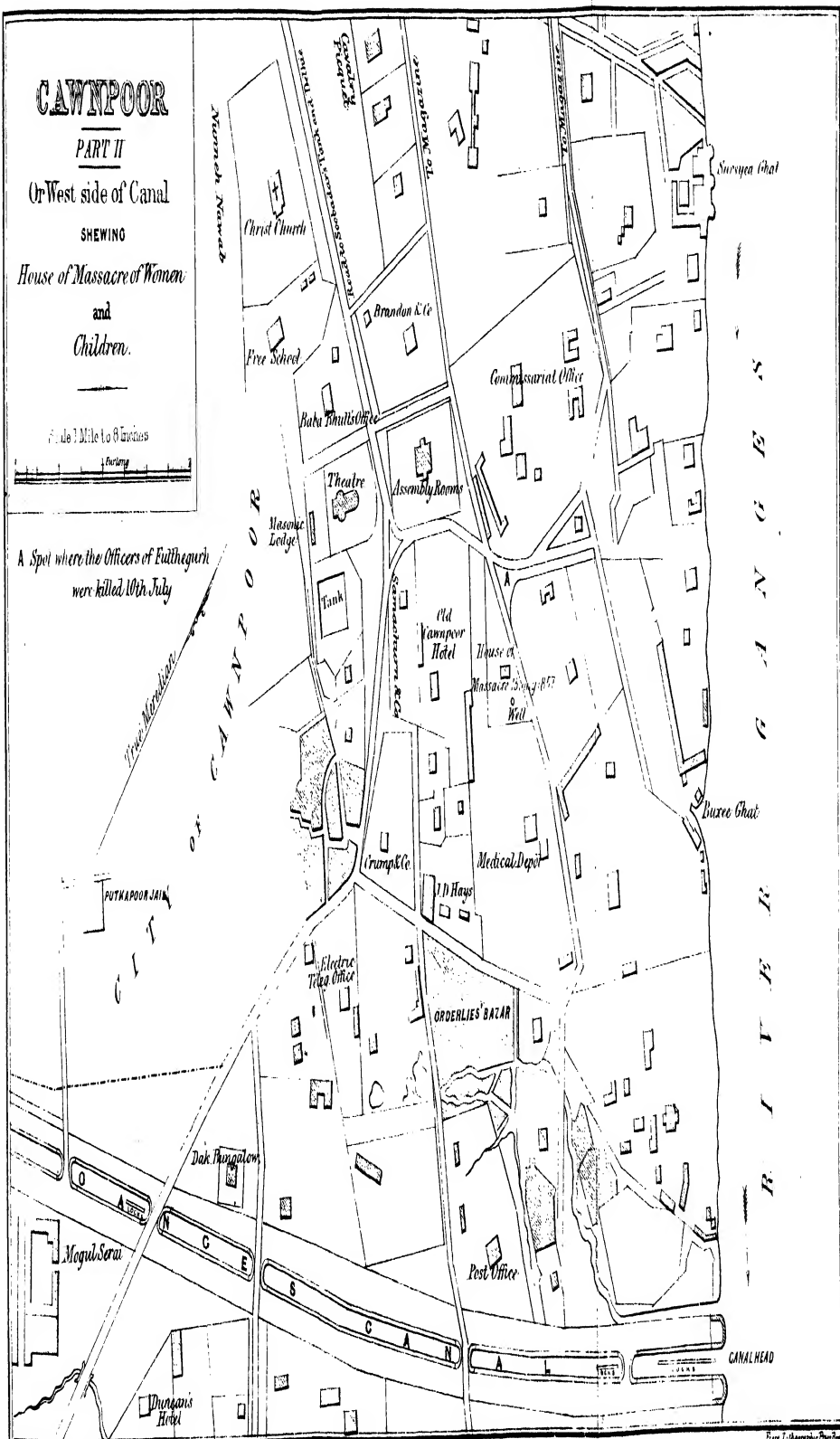
Or West side of Canal

SHEDDING

House of Massacre of Women
and
Children.

Scale 1 Mile to 8 inches

A Spot where the Officers of Euiltheguri
were killed 10th July



them over by kindness. On one occasion beer and wines were given ; on another rum was issued. He himself took up his quarters in Noor Mahomed's Hotel, also called the "Old Cawnpore Hotel," facing the assembly rooms and adjoining the building, separated only by a compound—a space of thirty or forty yards—in which the women and children were confined. He caused the women to sit out of an evening in their premises, as also to promenade, whilst he and his brothers sat in the verandah of the hotel staring at them. To please them he caused a little milk to be given to the children daily, as also some meat. Clean clothes were also issued, forcibly taken from the washermen of the station, who had them to wash previous to the outbreak. On one occasion meat victuals, prepared by hired cooks, were given to the women.

It is not easy to describe, but one may imagine the misery of so many helpless persons, all labouring under the greatest agony of heart for the loss of those so dear to them who had so recently been killed, perhaps before their own eyes—and for their own wretched forlorn state, without a ray of hope of ever being able to get out of the hands of their ruffianly captors ; their imagination painting to them a prospect of continual misery and dishonour. Think for a moment, so many persons being cooped up night and day in a low, small, pucca-roofed house, with but five or six very small rooms, and that, in the hottest season of the year, without beds or punkhas, watched day and night by a set of savages continually staring at them and taking notice of them every moment. I am told the ladies—every one of them—had their hair cut short on account of the heat and scarcity of water to wash, as only one bhistee (water-carrier) was allowed them, and all that they had to spread under them was a mat of dried leaves. A native, or Maharatta doctor, was employed to tend upon the sick and wounded.

After the Nana's camp broke up at Savada, order was given, on the 5th July, to remove the native prisoners, now amounting to about 150 in number, from the cavalry hospital to the jail in the city. They were made into four divisions, each under charge of eight sepoy in undress, but well armed, and made to proceed at a hundred yards apart from the divisions, in a manner driven along like flocks of sheep. On our way we had to pass the lines of the 2nd Light Cavalry, and here a scene, worth regarding, attracted my notice. It appears that an order had been issued by the "authorities" to assemble five thousand troops and march them off to Futtehpoor, with nearly all the artillery available, for the purpose of attacking and repulsing the British force, said to be advancing from Allahabad to attack Cawnpore. Now, the several rebel corps belonging to the station had established themselves in

their respective lines, and made themselves very comfortable in them. The 2nd Cavalry was at the time being made to assemble on its parade ground by a few troopers and sirdars of the same corps in full dress, who, duly mounted, were calling out with all their might to the men in the lines to fall in ; but they appeared to feel so reluctant to leave such agreeable quarters, that neither persuasions, threats, nor imprecations seemed to have the least effect upon them. Some pretended to be saddling their horses, others packing up their luggage, &c., and a great many were seen skulking away towards the city ; then it was, that the contrast between the steady regularity and ready obedience of orders under the British rule, and that of the present management, became very striking. The prisoners, however, passed on, and I did not see how the leaders managed to collect their men together, but I heard that the following morning the rebel troops had marched away to Futtehpore. On hearing this, how I prayed in my heart that their undertaking would be attended with complete failure. On entering the city, we met several sepoy, most of whom had been plundered by the villagers in the neighbouring districts while attempting to convey to their families the money they had come in possession of at Cawnpore, for immediately on the outbreak occurring the Rajpoots and other villagers posted themselves on the roads in large bodies and well-armed, for the purpose of plundering the travellers, which work they found very profitable, as they invariably succeeded in disburthening the sepoy (who generally went singly and clandestinely in order to avoid their comrades, for where money is concerned a native will not trust even his father,) of their ill-gotten booty and often treating them to a sound thrashing, send them back empty-handed. Such ill-usage, it may be supposed, caused a bitterness of feeling in the hearts of the wretched sepoy not easily to be effaced. Seeing so many prisoners, and believing them to be all villagers, their exultation was very great. The sight, as it were, added vigour to their bodies ;—such gestures and such menacing looks—such imprecations and abuse showered on them !—I can never forget the scene. I am only astonished that they were restrained from falling upon us and satisfying their revenge. They, however, contented themselves by giving vent to certain horrible sentences upon the unfortunate prisoners. One was for blowing them away from the guns, another was for cutting off both the hands and noses of all, and letting them go as living examples to others !

Amidst all these imprecations and abuse, the guard of sepoy managed to hasten on the prisoners ; and now I had a very narrow escape from falling into the hands of one of the then bitterest enemies of the Christians, though I did not know it at that

time. This was the Quazee* of the city, a Mahomedan by caste, named Wuzecooden. I had been on friendly terms with this man ever since I came to Cawnpore, he being a respectable man. Seeing him on horse-back, about fifty yards in advance, as we entered the city, conversing with somebody in the street, and calculating upon our former acquaintance, I made up my mind to whisper to him my condition when near enough to be able to do so, trusting that he would help me out of my misery, and for this purpose I shifted to the side of the road which would bring me quite close to him. Deeply absorbed in mind, I kept following the prisoners, my heart beating faster the nearer I approached the Quazee, on account of the uncertainty of my reception on making myself known to him. Now we were within ten paces of the Quazee, his face was towards my side of the road, and he was staring at the prisoners. Once I thought his eye fell upon me, but without recognition—indeed it would have been impossible for any body to have recognized me in that state. A little more and I would have been irretrievably lost; for this man, as I afterwards learnt, was not only himself under an oath, but had sworn others, too, not to spare the life of a Christian in Cawnpore; and had assisted in the massacre of many who concealed themselves in the city. That was a most critical moment for me; but the same Providence whose care had hitherto guarded me, was again exerted in my behalf. The prisoners were suddenly made to turn into a narrow lane on the right, which leads to Putkapoor, where we were to be incarcerated for the present, and I lost sight of the Quazee. In ten minutes more we reached the goal. It is situated in the city, and was built by the British for prisoners under trial,—in the shape of a soldiers' barrack, without apartments, in size about thirty feet by fifteen, with tiled roof, and the windows have iron bars fixed to the wall; having but one door for entrance, which is also of iron bars. The compound, which is enclosed with mud walls about ten feet high, is rather spacious, having a number of out-houses in it for the accommodation of the people, as also a pukka well of sweet water. This place being so secure, the prisoners could move about a little during the day, and bathe at the well by asking permission of the sentries, of whom eight usually stood guard, four near the prison door and four in the rear of the building.

By this time I was well known by the prisoners, as also by the guard people, many of whom pitied me, especially when they saw that the parched gram, on which alone I was made to subsist, did not agree with me, as I was unable to digest it, and twice I got very seriously ill during the night, so much so, that I was covered

* Chief Magistrate.

with cold perspiration. Then it was that I remembered with indescribable anguish of heart, the anxious care that used to be taken of me on such occasions by my good and amiable wife. Oh! where was she then?—what had become of the dear ones I had, only a fortnight ago, left in the intrenchment? I asked myself repeatedly, shall I never see their faces any more?

But hope sustained me. The very uncertainty of their fate buoyed up my spirits, or otherwise I should have sunk under my affliction. I knew that a good number of women and children were alive, and in imprisonment, and earnestly hoped that those of my family were amongst them; and that we should all receive our enlargement in a few months. Thus I was enabled to bear up with my trials. On two occasions I received a handeake (chuppatee) from one of the prisoners, and once a Hindoo gave me, unasked, a pice to buy bread with. The state of my feelings on such occasions may easily be imagined. Living entirely upon bare parched gram, the flavour of bread had such a sweetness as cannot be described,—and coarse bread, too, such as dogs would not eat at home. The pice procured me four chuppatees and a little *dhal*, which Mendes and I finished with great relish. Oh! how grateful I felt to God for that meal! Mendes also managed, a day or two after, to get a pice from one of the prisoners, and we again had the pleasure of eating bread.

Those of the prisoners who had their homes at Cawnpore, were generally supplied with food by their relations once a day, besides receiving the usual allowance of gram from the prison, and were very well off; but the others, such as myself and Mendes, who had nobody in the world, had a hard time of it. The gram was issued once a day, and that at very uncertain hours,—sometimes early in the morning, and next day perhaps after candle-light. Oh! how hungry I have felt at times, so much so that even parched gram had an indescribable relish! One has seen poultry, pent up in an enclosure, eagerly flocking together when about to receive their grain—such was our state. When it came at last, how great was the joy, and how anxiously did each person look to the distributors to give him a trifling quantity more; but the usual quantum, of about half a pound—as much as comes in the hollow of the two hands joined together—was on no account exceeded. On one occasion the sepoy of the guard, wishing to appropriate to themselves the price of one day's supply, did not issue the grain till 9 o'clock at night, though it was purchased and put by. Several prisoners, who had been starving for 36 hours, could not refrain from murmuring, and heartily cursing the Nana and all his clan. Three men at last broke out and complained in a loud voice, which brought the subadar to us, who, on learning the cause, scolded the sepoy for

starving the prisoners ; they, however, passed it off, by saying that a man was sent to purchase the gram, but had not returned. No sooner had the subadar gone away, than the gram was brought out, and the three men who made the noise were desired to come forward first. The poor fellows, thinking they would receive a larger quantity than usual, jumped up with alacrity. But the sepoy laid hold of them, and throwing them on the ground, beat them so severely with their thick shoes, that they nearly drove their breath out of them, after which they were sent away without their gram—which was then issued to the rest ; but some of the prisoners made up the loss to the three poor fellows. That night many went to sleep without getting a drink of water after eating the gram, for it was late, and the guard would not permit the prisoners to go out of the prison, the door of which was always kept locked after candle-light till sunrise.

About the 9th July, five military prisoners (natives), heavily laden with fetters and escorted by a strong guard, arrived at the prison. These men had been tried by a court-martial, and proved to be loyal to the British, and the sentence passed upon them was to make an example of them by cutting off the hands and nose of each at a grand parade of the entire army, to be assembled on a convenient date—till which time they were to remain incarcerated in the Putkapoorā jail. Two of the prisoners I did not remember seeing before—these were a native doctor, named Wullee Dad Khan of the 56th Native Infantry, and a sepoy also of the same regiment, but the other three I recognized at once, as having remained with us throughout in the intrenchment ; one was a jemadar of the 56th Native Infantry, named Khoda Bux, and his son Ellahee Bux, a drummer of the same corps. The third was the same Govind Singh sepoy, of whom I have mentioned before. This poor man told me, with tears in his eyes, how unmercifully he had been beaten by the rebel sepoys of his own regiment. He had accompanied the officers from the intrenchment to the river side on the 27th June. Captain Goad of his corps held him by the hand and would not let him go ; but the mutineers took him away at last by force, and beat him all over in the most cruel manner, with the butt ends of their muskets, till he fell down, and was obliged to be taken to the Nana on a cot. He was at first ordered to be blown away from a gun, but afterwards the above-mentioned sentence was passed on him, as well as on the other four men. It was a pitiful sight even at that time to see his body swollen, and blackened by the cruel beating he had received.

The prison was now quite full, so much so that many had to sit up against the walls all night. Every day some ten or twelve fresh prisoners were brought in, whereas not one went out of it ;

there were about 250 natives in that little prison, composed of all classes of people, but mostly villagers, said to have been taken plundering. There was also a mutineer sepoy from Nowgong—a very powerful, big man, of about 28 years of age, but a great braggadocio. By his own account, he was the chief instigator of the mutiny at that station; and for which, he stated, he had been chosen by the sepoy of his corps to be a captain over them. While marching from Nowgong to join the Nana, some of the sepoy were offended with him, I suppose on account of his overbearing conduct. He being possessed of a large sum of plundered money, was desirous of hiding it previous to appearing before the Nana; and on arrival near Cawnpore he had managed to remain away a little in the rear, intending to bury the money in the ground, when the sepoy turned upon him, pronounced him a deserter, and tying his hands behind, brought him in as a prisoner,—thus he was kept in confinement pending his trial. One may conceive how indignant he was at such treatment—he, a Captain, to be thus degraded, was beyond endurance! A more sly, prying fellow I have never seen. In two days he made himself well acquainted with the circumstances of every prisoner in that jail; and when he learnt who I was, his rage exceeded all bounds—he would have killed me there and then, were it in his power so to do.

Among the prisoners with me was the murderer of a European named John Duncan, Superintendent of Roads. This murderer's name was Ghunseram, who found poor Duncan hiding himself in a village called Pewundee, about six miles east of Cawnpore. He treated him kindly for two or three days, but finding that the Nana had offered a reward for the heads of all Europeans or Christians, he gave notice of Mr. Duncan's whereabouts and received orders to bring his head to the Nana. When he did so, his indignation was great, when, instead of receiving a large sum as he had expected, only ten rupees were offered him. A few days after this deed was done, a native woman preferred a complaint against the fiend Ghunseram, setting forth that the wretch had appropriated to himself all the money and valuables he had found upon Mr. Duncan's person. He was therefore seized and placed in confinement to be tried by the first opportunity. It was horrible to listen to his description in the jail of the manner in which he had deprived the poor man of his life. This he did with much bragging and boasting, and expressed in no measured terms his indignation at the paltry sum he had received as reward. As the fellow had really taken Mr. Duncan's valuables, he soon managed to bribe the amlah of the court and got his release. Mendes and I, however, marked him and trusted that some day or other we should be in a position to bring him to account. I am happy that on the arrival of General Havelock, this murderer was apprehended, and Mendes

the drummer had the satisfaction of being present at his execution.

All this while the Nana continued to receive many more troops, which, after mutinizing, had left their respective stations and poured from all sides into Cawnpore, so that about the 10th of July there were near upon (20,000) twenty thousand armed fighting men of all classes at his command; and the depredations they committed in the city were excessive.

Fresh corps were being raised, and recruits daily entertained, and a new horse battery was formed. The zemindars all around were directed to bring in the revenue due by them. New offices were created, and bestowed daily upon favourites. The Ganges Canal, built at so much trouble and at so great a cost to Government, was bestowed upon the villain Azimoolah; who, together with about a hundred and fifty of the Mussulman troopers of the 2nd Regiment Light Cavalry, and *Teeka Singh*, subadar, created a Brigadier-General, were at the bottom of all mischief.

The Nana caused to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom throughout Cawnpore and its districts, that he had entirely conquered the British in these parts, whose reign having been completed, were killed and destroyed in all parts of India; that, excepting in Calcutta and Lucknow, not a European or Christian of any kind was left alive; that in the Punjaub and the Hills the Raja of Cashmeer was the sole ruler; Agra was taken by Baza Bai, the Rancee of Gwalior; Allahabad was in the hands of a Moulvee; and the other stations between Calcutta and Allahabad, in like manner, had been conquered by the different Rajahs and others in those parts. That a small body of Europeans had managed to escape, and were between Allahabad and Cawnpore, but that the troops he, the Nana, had sent a few days ago, had entirely destroyed them all; and that no more Europeans ever dared to come to Cawnpore. The natives, who had no means of obtaining information from other stations, easily believed all these reports, especially when they were told that the whole of the Native army in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay had mutinied and killed all their officers; so that those few who were loyal to us at heart began to waver, and many sought and obtained employment under the Nana.

Being very miserable, I felt myself capable of running any risk to find out whether any of my dear relations were alive, and resolved to make my escape; thinking that if once out of the prison, I could arrange with some of my office people to obtain me the necessary information by sending a letter to the poor prisoners, through one of the menials employed for their wants, or by going myself among them when they were allowed to sit out of an evening, as fruit-vender or sweetmeat seller. The only chance of

my getting away was over a portion of the compound wall near one corner, which the rains had washed down to about five feet, and I thought I could easily jump over it unperceived in dusk of the evening, when there used to be generally a great bustle among the prisoners a little before the shutting in of the prison-door for the night. Having come to this resolution, I sat near the well, watching the sentries, and found they were not at all vigilant, but carelessly standing here and there, conversing with any body they found near them. The cause of this carelessness on the part of the sentries was afterwards explained to me ; they knew full well that escape was impossible from any other part, save the broken wall, and there they had posted a guard of eight sepoy's outside in a hut, whom we could not see, as the ground was a great deal lower outside ; and, had I jumped over, as I had determined, I should certainly have been taken, and perhaps severely beaten, if not killed. But here, again, the hand of Providence was interposed to save me.

It was on Friday, the 10th July, that I was thus sitting near the well, meditating on my escape, fully resolved to carry it out that very evening, when, at about 5 o'clock, the subadar returned, after making his report to the so-called Chief Commissioner of Cawnpore, named, "Baba Bhutt," being no less a personage than the brother of the Nana. The subadar it seems had represented that the prisoners were in great distress from want of room in the jail, and as they were all kept there pending trial, it would be as well to investigate their cases and dispose of them, as might be deemed proper. He was accordingly ordered to bring away immediately 25 of the prisoners from the first number, to be tried that evening.

The names were called, and mine fell among the 25 ; thus I was unable to carry out my desperate intention.

Now it was that I felt a clinging to life. I knew that if during my trial it was found out who I was, I should most undoubtedly be killed. I therefore said to the subadar—"You have been very kind to me hitherto ; now that life and death hang on your hands, if you expose me, and if I am killed, my blood will rest on your head." He laughed good-naturedly, and replied, "At one time how anxious you were to be made known to the authorities, and worried my life out for not reporting you ; but how soon you have changed your mind !" He then turned round to the sepoy's of the escort and enjoined them not to mention a word to any body outside about me. We then proceeded through the narrow lanes of the city, a rope having been previously thrown round to keep us together, which greatly prevented our walking freely ; as I had no shoes my heel and toes were sadly bruised from being constantly trodden upon by the others.

On reaching the court, we were made to stand in a line, alongside of the verandah, which was full of people, many of whom I thought I recognized. The "Baba" was inside investigating other cases. While thus standing, and being the tallest in the lot, I attracted much notice; and although I covered up nearly half of my face with the rags on my head, yet I could hear several voices among the beholders passing remarks upon me; and whichever way I turned my head, I saw people staring at me. I thought I should be discovered, and my heart beat high under the suspense. It was already late in the evening, and it now began to get dark. By degrees the persons in the verandah dispersed; retainers of the Baba only remained. All was anxiety and suspense among the unfortunate prisoners. Presently a crowd of people came out from the building into the verandah, following a middle-sized, middle aged, dark-looking man, with a large turban on his head. This was Baba Bhutt, the "Chief Commissioner" of Cawnpore; the retainers all fell back, and a kind of music, composed of a couple of native drums, called *nagaras*, and other jingling instruments, struck up a confused kind of noise. The Baba was leaving the court, going home; our subadar waited a little, and then advancing made his obeisance, and reminded the "chief" that, according to his wishes, 25 prisoners were waiting his orders. The answer was, in a grumbling croaking voice, "I cannot attend to them now; don't you see how hard I work to restore order and authority in this, the Maharaja's" (alluding to the Nana) "dominions? Bring the prisoners very early to-morrow." Thus saying he went away, and we were conducted back to the jail.

At sunrise the following morning, the same prisoners were again called out; but before proceeding the subadar caused our gram to be issued, which we took along with us. There was nobody at the court when we arrived, so we were made to sit down under a *neem* tree in the gardens. This place belonged to Mr. Duncan, and was situated between the free school and theatre—having two buildings in the compound; the larger one, being used as a residence, and the other as a billiard-room; one being flat-roofed and the other tiled, escaped the fire; and the Baba selected this spot, preferring the billiard-room for his court, and using the other building as a store room, for plundered and unclaimed property.

At about 10 A.M., a sound of the previous night's music was heard, and presently a very large mob was seen coming, an immense umbrella of red cloth being prominent amidst the crowd, indicated the precise spot where the Baba was,—none but the chiefs were permitted to use an umbrella, even if it rained; any other person found with one was at once deprived of it, as being considered highly impertinent and disrespectful to the ruling powers.

The mob, and the red umbrella, stopped at the gate of the place we were in ; and a sort of military manœuvring took place on the public road. A number of matchlock men (toradars), dressed in different ways, with powder-horns, and dirty bags, intended for pouches, hanging at their sides, were made to stand in two rows on the left of the road ; opposite to them stood a host of sword and shield men, with curled up mustachios and long beards, wearing the common dress of Mahomedans ; a body of mounted men having half-starved, bony, ugly-looking horses under them, armed with long spears and broad shields, and a sword hanging at the side of each, stood on another side of the road. The red umbrella now began to move about very rapidly (we could not see the Baba on account of the mob), now among the toradars, now in the midst of the beards, and horse-men, then back again, and so on. This sort of business lasted for two hours. We asked what it all meant, and were told that new corps were being raised, and that the Baba reserved to himself the privilege of collecting such levies ; that he was at that time engaged in taking a roll of the men thus entertained by him.

While we were thus talking, four men brought from the city *kutwallee* a young Mahomedan, his arms tied very tightly behind, with his new red turban. He was a sowar of the new levy, entertained two days ago, seized in the act of extorting money from a *buneah*, and, after being well kicked, was thus sent for the orders of the chief. How this man struggled, and cried, and begged to have his arms loosened a little ! At last he had recourse to a trick : he fell down and called for water, pretending he was dying from thirst. Water was brought in a bhestee's bag, and as there was no vessel to drink out of, they were obliged to release his hands to admit of his using them for that purpose. After that he made his body so stiff that his arms could not be tied as tightly as before. He was taken after a while to Baba Bhutt at the gate, and had his sentence immediately passed on him, which was 50 lashes on his bare back, after that to blacken his face and mount him with his face towards the tail on a donkey, to be shown under beat of tom-tom throughout the city, and finally to undergo three months' jail in irons ; which sentence was carried out without delay.

I leave the reader to imagine my own thoughts and feelings during this period of suspense and anxiety. Seated on the bare, wet ground (for it had rained in the night), the powerful rays of a July sun striking from above, the *neem* tree not being sufficiently thick to afford much shelter—when thirsty, it was a difficult matter to get a drink, and I was obliged to keep my face covered as much as possible for fear of being recognized, as many were passing up

and down, some of whom were not unknown to me. I am only surprised I did not fall ill and die ; at any other time I know I could not have borne one-tenth of what I had undergone there. It is true, whom God spares nothing can destroy. Feeling myself so forlorn and helpless, I had placed my full trust in God, and looked up *only* to Him for support. O ! how gracious and wonderful has been his goodness towards me !

Baba Bhutt, after inspecting the recruits, went back to his house, and did not return till 5 p.m. When he did come, he had no time to attend to us, and at sunset we were brought back to the jail, to be taken again early next morning. What conflicting emotions tortured my heart ! Would I be released ? and if so, what should I do ? Could I but be sure of the fate of my beloved ones ! If they had all been killed, what did I wish to live for ? Such thoughts kept me awake for some time, but the fatigues of the day at last brought on a sound sleep, and I did not get up next morning till called up to prepare for starting to the court : taking my gram in a rag, I was ready.

It was a bright Sabbath morning, just the hour when I used to drive to church, accompanied by my beloved wife and child. The twelfth of July will never be effaced from my memory. We trudged along sorrowfully till we reached the place ; there was no sign of Baba Bhutt till 2 o'clock. I cannot help mentioning here that an order had gone out some time ago, that a severe punishment would be inflicted upon any body who dared to utter the name of "Baba Bhutt,"—that in future his name was to be simply "Baba Sahib." Now *Bhutt* is a Maharatta word signifying mendicant, or one who derives his support from charity, and this fellow was such by birth. I am told that he is the eldest of three brothers. When Bajee Rao, the late Peishwa of Poonah and Sittarah, adopted his two younger brothers (Nana and Bala as related elsewhere), this Baba Bhutt (*alias* Neroo Punth) was rather overgrown and ugly-looking ; he was therefore allowed to remain with his own father, and to follow the same pursuit, till the death of Bajee Rao, when the Nana asked him to come and live with him, though he was still called by his proper name—"Baba Bhutt ;" but, of course, it would not do now that he was a "Chief Commissioner" to be still called a *Bhutt* ! ! *

This "worthy," at last, made his appearance at 2 o'clock, preceded by the same discordant music I have mentioned before, and after an hour our subadar took the liberty of reminding his "Excellency" about the prisoners. The nazir (sheriff of the court) was ordered, in an impatient manner, to bring forward their cases

* Please note that the above names have a slightly broad sound, as "Nawnaw, Bawbaw," &c.

at once. Now was a moment of real excitement ; as one after another was called up, the working of each man's features shewed what anxiety he felt. Mine was No. 18 or 19, and I was very anxious to know what sentence would be passed on No. 6, who was a Mahomedan cook from our intrenchment, named Chaday Khan, having been sent out five days before me to obtain information under promise of a reward of 1,000 Rupees, but had also unfortunately fallen into the hands of the rebels. His case was exactly similar to what I had given out at first about myself, and according to which statement I was about to be tried ; and I fully expected that we should both be set at liberty at once, for we had stated that to save our lives we had run away from the intrenchment ! After a while of suspense, I saw Chaday Khan coming at last, and conceive my horror when I perceived he had heavy fetters on his legs ; the poor fellow was crying bitterly, and told us that his sentence was three years' imprisonment with hard labour. I could not help feeling astonished at the Bhutt's assurance. Thought I to myself, he makes sure of three years when he little knows what may take place in three months or three weeks. Chaday Khan was found guilty of the heinous crime of having remained and assisted the Europeans in the intrenchment for such a long time ; why did he not, he was asked, make his escape at the outset, as many other servants had done ? He endeavoured to explain, but no heed was given to his words.

And now my name was called out—" *Budloo, bubburchee*" (cook). How my heart beat at the sound ! I adjusted my rags about me, so as to hide my features and body as much as possible and followed my conductor. I was brought, and made to stand by the side of a door outside, in front of which, inside the house, was seated, or rather perched, upon the corner of the billiard-table, a dirty-looking fellow, wearing across his nose green spectacles, and an unwieldly turban on his head, holding a paper in his hands ; this was the same man I had seen before, and was *Baba Bhutt*. A high wooden stool was kept by the side of the billiard-table to admit of his mounting, or alighting from it ; and a host of scribes, smartly dressed, stood round about the table, ready to catch a word that might fall from his " *Excellency's*" lips. I really believe that nearly, if not the whole, of the British Cantonment Magistrate's office establishment was there present at that moment. I had scarcely time to make these observations, when, with an impatient movement of the left hand, the Baba croaked out, "make haste," all the time intently looking upon the paper in his right hand, which appeared like a petition. The nazir came forward and looked at me, for I was hid from his sight ; but no sooner did his eyes meet mine, than he immediately put his head down, and stepped back. Whether he

recognized me or not, I cannot say, but I know that I had often seen him before the outbreak going to the Cantonment Magistrate's Court. I felt alarmed, but I was praying in my heart, "The will of God be done," and a calm resignation came over me.

Another growl from the billiard-table, with "What's the delay?" made the nazir read out, "Budloo, son of Jhundoo—cook by occupation."

"Well, well; what is his crime? Read that," was the order.

The nazir read—"Ran away from the English intrenchment on the 24th June."——

"Enough," was the order from the table—"now write his sentence."

"Three years' imprisonment with fetters."

The nazir asked—"With or without labour?"

"*With labour, of course,*" was the reply.

Now I had made up a sort of a-cock-and-bull story in my mind to get over the sentence, and opened my mouth with—

"I am a resident of——."

"Stop his mouth!—stop his mouth!" was the order, and I was led out into the verandah without another word, where sat a blacksmith amidst a heap of most formidable-looking fetters; he selected a fearfully heavy pair, and was about to clap them on my poor legs, when I told him that my sentence was three years, and therefore, in pity, he ought to give me lighter ones. He very kindly allowed me to make my own selection, but they were nearly all alike, and I was at a loss which to take; there was no help for it, I took up a pair, and the blacksmith put them on me. I have since weighed these fetters, which are still preserved by me, and find they are more than five pounds.

Amongst the prisoners was the servant of a zemindar, accused of having robbed his master of a sum of money; there was no evidence against him, nor would he confess the theft, but the Baba was determined, right or wrong, to make him confess. He had already been severely beaten; but now he was allowed breathing time, while my case was going on. He was again brought forward and desired to confess. He said he did not know anything about the money; that the zemindar had other servants, and they might be questioned. But no; the simple word *luggay* (that is, "strike") was again pronounced, and three men fell upon the poor fellow with the soles of their thick shoes, beating him in all parts of the body, as he kept rolling on the ground, to such a degree that he was unable to utter the least noise, and was to all appearance dead; then they ceased, and a little water was ordered to be put into his throat. When he came to his senses the same question was repeated, and the same short word pronounced—*luggay*. Oh! how fear-

fully they beat him ! I am sure the man would have confessed under so much beating, if he had taken the money. After a repetition of the above scene three or four times, he was ordered to be taken away and brought again the next day.

And now came the drummer Mendes' turn, otherwise called *Yaqeen Mohamed*. His accuser was not present, and he, of course, denied the charge. The Baba said, "I saw you with my *own* eyes taking away *bales of cotton*." Now, poor Mendes had never seen such a thing since the mutiny, and answered accordingly. The reply was, "All short men are wicked ; this fellow is very short, and therefore very wicked. Give him six months' jail with fetters." Mendes made a salaam and came out, glad to find that nobody taxed him about being a Christian.

This day was brought into court, for the inspection of the "Chief Commissioner," two amputated hands, lopped off from the wrist of an unfortunate fellow convicted of theft, and sentenced by Baba Bhutt to the above effect. When the bloody limbs were placed before this fiend, I was told he turned away his head in disgust and ordered them to be taken away immediately. The unfortunate sufferer, they said, died from loss of blood after a few hours. When I heard of this I had much reason to be thankful for my own sentence of imprisonment, for I had hopes of speedy deliverance by the British, who I made sure would retake Cawnpore before the setting in of the cold season, or latest by November or December.

I forgot to mention that when we were leaving the jail this morning, that rebel sepoy from Nowgong, who called himself a Captain, and was so much against me, had asked and obtained permission of the subadar to accompany us to the court, in order that his case might be adjusted at the same time, and the subadar intended to have him brought forward for trial, after the whole of the 25 prisoners had been disposed of. When Mendes and I joined the others under the *neem* tree, this fellow, the "Captain," I have forgotten his name, was very indignant when he found I had got off, as he said, so easily. "What !" said he, "this, a Christian and a *Keranee*, to be on a par with *Chaday Khan*, the cook, who is a Mussulman !! Surely his head ought to be cut off ; if not his sentence ought to be not less than seven years' imprisonment." "Wait," said he, "my turn for trial will come presently, and see, if I do not tell upon you." Then turning to the others he said,— "Look at him, how innocent he pretends to be, but he is very deep. Have you not observed by what devices he has managed to pass himself off all this while ? He is a snake, and it is not good to let him live." I told him, "that I had done him no injury, and why should he be so much against me ?" He answered, with a significant move of his hand across his throat, "Death—you deserve

death." The others now tried to dissuade him from his evil intentions towards me ; but *he* was determined to have me killed. I know not why this fellow felt so embittered against me ; I had done nothing, to the best of my knowledge, to offend him. He did not seem to care much about Mendes ; he would say, when speaking of him, " this fellow is harmless, and, as he has turned a Mahomedan, it proves him to be a right-minded person, and we have not much to apprehend from him ;"—not so with me—he would stare at me as if he could penetrate into my heart, then grind his teeth, shake his head, and in a menacing manner mutter, " This is a serpent." There were but two more men left to complete the full number of the prisoners brought that morning to be tried, when my enemy's turn would come ; and one cannot think how I felt after the threats he had uttered against me. I thought it was all up with me at last, for nothing could have saved me from death had the Baba once discovered who I really was. I prepared myself to die, and arranged in my mind to beg for one favor, *i. e.* to be allowed to visit the prison of the women and children before being executed. I know not whether this indulgence would have been granted me, but the idea of being once more able to see those dear faces—for I had persuaded myself to the belief that they were all alive—filled my thoughts ; I wanted to tell them that I had not deserted them when I came out of the intrenchment, as the circumstance of my not going back might have led them to believe.

Amidst all this anguish of mind a sudden movement among the Baba's retainers took place—the discordant music struck up,—oh ! how charming did the sound appear to me at that moment, it being the prelude to the Baba's departure. The hangers-on and the retainers formed two lines on either side of the road from the verandah. The red umbrella rose and moved forward ; and the whole procession moved towards the gate. The Nana had need of the services of " His Excellency ;" business for that day was over, and the court was closed. Oh ! how can I utter in words the joy I felt at this reprieve, for such I considered it to be, as my enemy was determined to tell upon me the following day.

Under a deep sense of my gratitude and thankfulness to God, I forgot the shame and degradation that is inseparably attached to the having fetters fixed to one's legs, and traversed back through the streets to the jail. Eight of us only had been fettered, ten pardoned, and the rest put off for the next day. I took an opportunity to tell the subadar, that through his goodness I had been hitherto saved from being killed ; now if he would be so kind as to order a double portion of gram to be given me, I might get life for a few months. He in reply advised me to keep up my spirits,

and that by-and-bye the prisoners under sentence would get *attah* and *dhal*, if not pice in lieu to buy bread. From that day Mendes and I got a double allowance of gram.

That evening several purwannahs were handed over to the daroga in charge of the jail conveying orders concerning each of the prisoners who had been tried during the day by Baba Bhutt; one had reference to me, and I have been successful in subsequently obtaining a copy of the same from the records abandoned by the rebels on the occasion of their having been driven out of Cawnpore by General Havelock. The copy I have now in my possession bears the stamp of the Cawnpore Special Commissioner's office, and is signed as "true copy" by J. Perkins, Special Commissioner. When translated in runs as follows :—

"Copied from the Book of Purwannahs of Baba Bhutt's Office—No. 458.

"Purwannah to the address of the Jail Daroga.

"This day the individual Budloo, defendant, convicted of having come out of the intrenchment, has been sentenced by *His August Presence* ('*Paishqah Hoozoor*') to three years' imprisonment in the jail, in irons with hard labour. Therefore you are hereby directed to receive the said prisoner into your custody, and placing him in the jail, see that the sentence of three years passed on him be fully carried out. At the expiration of which period, be careful to present him before *His August Presence*, in order that permission may be given to his release. Herein fail not (*takeed jano*). Dated 9th Zeeqaad 1273 Hijree" (equivalent to 12th July 1857, A.D.).

CHAPTER VIII.

At pages 38 and 39, the arrival and massacre at Cawnpore of the non-military residents of Futtchgurh is given, and it is now necessary to state what happened to the military community and the ladies who remained at that station and used their best endeavours to prevent the troops from breaking out. "These endeavours so far succeeded, that the sepoys of the 10th Regiment Native Infantry continued to perform their usual duties with cheerfulness, and all seemed to go on well until the arrival of the mutinous 14th Regiment from Sepree, on or about the 18th June, and then the 10th Regiment broke out into open mutiny, having burst open the jail and released all the prisoners."

"The first suggestion that presented itself to the officers was to take to the boats and abandon the station, but the river being then very low, that plan could not be carried into effect. The

European community had, therefore, to betake themselves to the Fort and to endeavour to defend themselves. Out of upwards of 100 Europeans, including ladies and children, at that time in the station, only 33 were available for the purpose of defence. They were enabled to mount seven guns when the siege commenced. Colonel Smith of the 10th Native Infantry assumed command of the small garrison."

"The siege lasted up to the 3rd July 1857, during which time several persons had been wounded by the enemy's shots. Colonel Tucker and Conductor Ohern were thus killed, and were buried together in one grave. When the position of the garrison became desperate, they had to spike their guns and abandon the Fort. The river having risen considerably by the rains, the party could now take to their boats."

"At 2 A.M. of the 4th July, three boats left Futtehgurh. The one in charge of Colonel G. Smith being disabled, the inmates were distributed in the two remaining boats. Whilst passing Singarampore, Major Robertson's boat grounding, its occupants were attacked and all killed or drowned with the exception of Major Robertson and Messrs. D. Churcher and Jones. The following are the names of persons who are believed to have perished on this occasion":—

Churcher, T. H., Mr., merchant.	Robertson, Mrs. (Major), & child.
Eckford, R., Ensign, 10th N. I.	Redman, Sergt.-Major, 10th N. I.
Fisher, T., Revd.	Redman, Mrs. and 2 children.
Fisher, Mrs. and child.	Simpson, J., Lieut., 10th N. I.
Fitzgerald, H., Lieut., 10th N. I.	Sutherland, Mr., merchant.
Fitzgerald, Mrs. and child.	Sutherland, Mrs. & two Misses,
Gibson, Mr., Road Overseer.	taken away and killed at
Gibson, Mrs. and 3 children.	Futtehgurh.
Knowles, Mrs. and 3 children.	Sutherland, 1 daughter, drowned.
Lewis, R. N., Joint Magistrate,	Thomson, E., Miss.
Lewis, Mrs. and 2 children.	Besides others whose names can-
Phillimore, W., Capt., 10th N. I.	not be given.

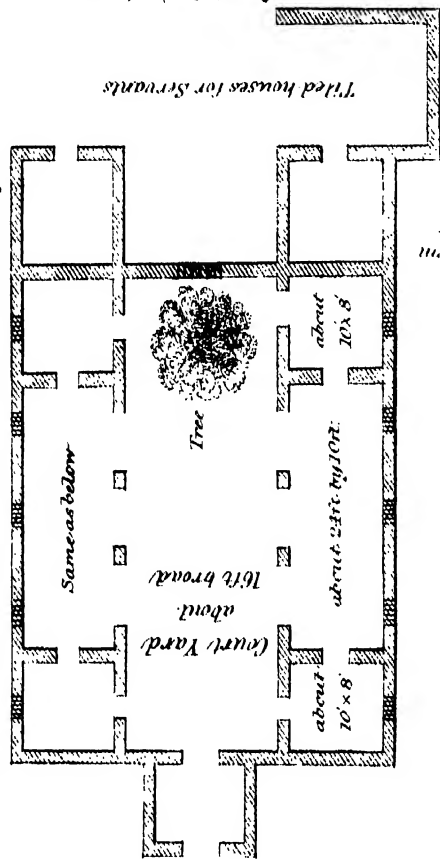
It must be remarked here that this party of military fugitives under Colonel Smith could not have been aware, owing to the interruption of all communication between Cawnpore and Futtehgurh, of the melancholy fate of the first batch of the non-military community who had preceded them exactly a month before, nor is it likely that they could have been informed, until too late, that Cawnpore was in the hands of rebels. My own information regarding the fate of this party, gleaned from the inhabitants of Cawnpore, is as follows:—On or about the 10th of July, rather a large number of Europeans, mostly ladies and children with a few servants, were

brought into Cawnpore as prisoners taken from a boat near Bithoor, they were conveyed, on common hackeries, to the Nana at the "old Cawnpore hotel," opposite to the assembly rooms; the arms of the gentlemen were tied very tightly behind their backs. The ladies and children were put into the out-buildings of the medical depôt where the other females had been confined belonging to the Cawnpore garrison, but the officers were ordered to be killed. While they were being taken to the place of slaughter, it was proposed by certain of the Nana's advisers that by sparing for a time the lives of some of the officers of higher rank, they would no doubt exert their influence with the British Government, and have the Fort of Allahabad made over to the Nana by way of ransom. This was highly approved of—and three of the principal officers, supposed to be Mr. Thornhill—the Judge, and Colonels Goldie and Smith, were called back and asked what they had to say to this proposal; they no doubt felt the utter impracticability of the thing, yet wishing to prolong life, in the full assurance of a speedy deliverance, promised, it is said, to do all in their power, but that the acceptance or refusal of the offer would, of course, entirely rest with the Governor-General.

Satisfied that they would so easily obtain possession of the Allahabad Fort, the deluded wretches began to indulge themselves in the most extravagant ideas of what they would do. Many fancied, and even made sure, that they were now in a fair way of conquering the remaining stations in the lower provinces of Bengal, when they proposed to invade England with an overpowering army and make the *Kafir Feringees* (Infidel Europeans) change places with them, *i. e.* turn them into servants and rule over them. Such flighty fancies as these were at times even discussed in the jail where I was imprisoned, and some of the Mahomedan prisoners also often joined.

It is stated that these three officers were directed to be put into the same building with the ladies and children; the remaining gentlemen were then taken behind the compound wall of the old Commissariat office, and made to stand in a ditch, when a dispute occurred with regard to a native Christian and a Hindoo servant, who were both taken along with the Europeans. The first was offered his life if he changed his religion, and embraced Mahomedanism, but he stoutly refused, saying he had not pursued Christianity merely for the sake of bread; this exasperated the troopers to such a degree that they hacked him up into pieces at once. The Hindoo was then told to come out from among the Christians and save his life. He replied, "I have served my master faithfully for years, I have eaten his salt, and have been to him as a son; how can I now forsake him in this time of trouble? I prefer to die with my master." No sooner were these words out of his mouth, than a

Ground Plan of the House, in which the ladies & children were imprisoned by the Rebel Navy, July 3rd to 15th 1857.



NOTE:—The gate-pillars and portions of houses seen at this corner in Lieut. Grump's Sketch, do not belong to this building, being parts of an adjoining one

Well about 35 or 40 ft from the building



This house was originally built for the reception of a native woman, the Mistress of an Officer; and was attached to the large bungalow at the East (as per Map) since called the "Medical Depot" with entrance gates at the East & West ends so that the road passed by both buildings; but a low wall divided the two compounds with a foot-path opening by the side of the well

pistol bullet fired through his ear knocked him over. The word of command was now passed to fire upon the officers, which was done in an instant. The bodies were allowed to lie exposed for a couple of days for the troopers and other Mahomedans to try their swords upon. On such occasions these men were in the habit of bringing their own children—young lads—and instructing them how to make a cut; at the same time giving them to understand that a cut upon even the dead body of a Christian Kaffir was of infinite value, entitling a true believer (moslem) to a place in Paradise. After this the bodies were removed and cast into the river. Those of the inhabitants of the city who had occasion to pass that way, and saw the bodies of these unfortunate gentlemen, state, with wonder and admiration, that some of them looked of gigantic size and most athletic proportions as they lay thus exposed on the ground. Oh! most pitiful sight that these men, so full of hope and vigour, should be thus ruthlessly cut off, slaughtered—butchered—in cold blood!

Their names are given by Messrs. D. Churcher and Jones, survivors, who escaped *en route* and did not come to Cawnpore, and are as follows:—

Basco, Mr., pensioner.	Maltby, J., Doctor, Civil Surgn.
Best, Mr.	Ohern, Mr., Clothing Agency.
Donald, Mr., senior.	Phillot, Major, 10th N. I.
Donald, Mr., junior.	Roach, Mr., Road Overseer.
Henderson, D., Ensign, 10th N.I.	Rohan, Condr. Gun. Carr. Agency.
Heathcote, T. G., Doctor, do.	Reid, Qr.-Mr.-Sergt., 10th N.I.
Jones, Mr., Civil Engineer.	Sweetenham, C. W., Lt., 10th N.I.
Jennings, Mr.	Vibart, E. C., Capt., 2nd Cavalry.
Lowe, Captain, 10th N. I.	Whish, E., Lieut., 10th N. I.
Munro, R., Major, 10th N. I.	Wrixen, Musician, 10th N. I.

The above addition to the prison of the women and children must have made up their number to upwards of 200; and oh! how dreadful it is to think of their state during the few days they were cooped up in that small house. It was rainy season, when there is generally no breeze, and a kind of dead heat which is suffocating. How must they have made room for so many—night after night—to sleep on the bare, damp, musty floor of those confined apartments! It is reported that large numbers were dying daily in the greatest distress.

All this while the mutineers at Cawnpore continued to carry on all kinds of villiany and atrocities both in cantonments and the city. Mahomedans, calling themselves the descendants of the Prophet, wearing garments of the most extraordinary devices,

and many covered over from head to foot with armour, laden with five or six different kinds of weapons,—poured in from Oude, and other parts of the country by hundreds. As for bragging and boasting, nothing could equal them. The people in the city of Cawnpore say that some of them have lived to be very old men, but they never saw or heard of such strange fiendish-looking men, and no one could tell where they came from, and what became of them after the defeat of the Nana. Men like these, accompanied by a few of the calvary troopers or sepoy, entered the houses of the inhabitants under different pretences, plundered them, and in some instances took forcible possession of their women;—noise and confusion, plunder and oppression, was the order of the day. Hell and all its evil spirits appeared to have been let loose upon Cawnpore.

The Nana felt himself fully established at Cawnpore. Things appeared to prosper under him to the utmost of his fondest hopes; disciplined and well-trained troops continued pouring in from all the neighbouring stations, whence they came laden with Government treasure, after murdering their officers, and in most cases these treasures were presented to the Nana. Collectors of revenue were appointed to realize land rents from the zemindars. The financial resources of the Maharattas increased daily. Courts of “Justice” (!) were established, officers of State (selected from among the Maharattas) were appointed; attention was paid to both civil and military offices. The army, at this time under the orders of the usurper, was not under 20,000 well-trained troops, including the new levies raised at the station. Cawnpore was swarming with them so much so that it could scarcely contain them; from Nawabgunj to Jauzinhaw was one mass of these rebels, to whom many promises and hopes were held out so as to keep them in order. A proclamation was also issued, far and wide, with a view to make the people contented and obedient. It ran thus:—

“As by the bounty of the glorious Almighty God, and the enemy-destroying fortune of the emperor, the yellow-faced and narrow-minded people have been sent to hell, and Cawnpore has been conquered; it is necessary that all the subjects and land-owners should be as obedient to the present government as they had been to the former one; that all the government servants should promptly and cheerfully engage their whole mind in executing the orders of government; that it is the incumbent duty of all the ryots and landed proprietors of every district to rejoice at the thought that the Christians have been sent to jehennum and both the Hindoo and Mahomedan religions have been continued and firmly established,—therefore they should as usual be obedient to the authorities of the present government, and never suffer any

complaint against themselves to reach the ears of the higher authorities."

I now return to relate what occurred to myself. I have stated that my persecutor, the "Nowgong Captain" had faithfully promised he would inform against me the next day, when he expected he would be taken to the court to have his case heard. The next day arrived, but Baba Bhutt was not at leisure to attend to the prisoners; and the rage of my "friend," the "Captain," was excessive. Arrangements were now being made to send the sentenced prisoners out to labour, and the good-natured subadar, wishing to employ me at some easy work, gave orders that I should labour at the forge, as one had been established in the jail compound, to prepare a thousand new iron fetters of different sizes. They gave me the hand-bellows to work, and I was not sorry for it, as it was not a very laborious duty. I, however, proved a sorry workman; not being used to the instrument, I could do the right one pretty well, but could not manage the left one at all, so I was dismissed after half an hour, and desired to attend next day and learn. Next day!! Little did they know what the next day would bring forth.

The successful advance of the British troops under General Havelock could now no longer be concealed from the people. The rebel force at Futchpore, amounting to upwards of 10,000 men, had been thoroughly beaten, at their first position, and lost nearly all the guns they had taken to that place from Cawn-pore. Reinforcement after reinforcement was dispatched by the Nana, but to his utter dismay they were all repulsed. There was no resisting the Europeans; at dead of night, we would distinctly hear the distant booming of guns towards the seat of war. Oh, what joy the happy news of the approach of the British infused into my heart!—how much more joyful the European women and children must have been in *their* confinement,—what anxieties must they not have felt, and what heartfelt prayers offered, for the success of the brave army,—with what tumultuous emotions of hope and joy their hearts must have throbbed at the thought of a speedy deliverance!

On the morning of the 15th July, I was sitting and conversing with two of the prisoners, who were equally anxious with myself for the speedy arrival of our deliverers, when the Nowgong rebel, the "Captain," who it appears had been watching me at a distance, now approached, and said to me, in a sneering manner, "So you seem overjoyed that your brethren are coming to your rescue. Be assured you will not be allowed to leave this alive; for, bear in mind, I shall batter your head against the wall before I go away hence." I said nothing, but moved off from that place; however, the others shamed

him for entertaining such evil intentions against me, for which he seemed not to care at all. This fellow had been a wrestler in his regiment, and a powerful, strongly-built man he was. He would often show off his strength to the prisoners, by hitting his body against the walls ; lifting up over his head some of the lads near him, and such like tricks.

No further opportunities ever occurred for the prisoners to be taken for trial to the court, as the "authorities" were too much occupied with other and weightier matters. All their attention was directed to find how to keep off the European troops from coming to Cawnpore. Every fresh intelligence they received from the seat of war was discouraging—every manœuvre proved futile. The British were now within 20 miles—there was no resisting them. About noon on the 15th July, a few troopers, I am informed, came in with the intelligence of the fight, and reported to the Nana that they could not understand how the Europeans were making such head against such fearful odds ; that they were coming like mad horses, or mad dogs—caring for neither cannon nor musketry, nor did these appear to have any effect upon them ; that it was their belief that if it were not for the rescue of the women and children in confinement the soldiers would not rush on with such impetuosity, and that, even then it was not too late,—“kill the *mains*, and *baba loques*,” they said, “and inform the English force of it, and you will find the Europeans will be discouraged and go back, for they are only a handful in number.”

“ On Bala Rao’s return to Cawnpore from the field of battle, “wounded on the right shoulder by a musket ball, a council was “held at Noor Mahomed’s Hotel, at which a large number are “said to have assembled, and over which the Nana presided.” * * * * “They are said to have been unanimous in one fearful resolve, and “that was the death of the unoffending and innocent women and “children, and the few gentlemen whose lives had hitherto been “spared. Two reasons were advanced in favor of this brutal “resolve : the one, that it would probably prevent the further “approach of the British ; the second, that many rebels even now “determined to forsake a losing cause and return to their old “allegiance, and knowing full well that many amongst the unfortun- “ate prisoners could recognize the leaders, and give important “evidence against them, being intimately acquainted with nearly “all those implicated in rebel proceedings, and felt that it was “positively necessary to destroy all European evidence, as the only “chance of evading the condign punishment their crimes so richly “merited. Hence was the fate of these unhappy captives to be “sealed in blood, and all were to perish in one common lot.”

A few native spies, it is said, were then brought in as being the bearers of letters supposed to have been written to the British by the helpless females in the prison, and with it the mahajans and Bengalees of the city were believed to be implicated. It was now agreed that the said spies with all the English captives should be put to death, and that the Baboos and every individual who could read and write English should have their right hands and noses cut off. The first order was carried out at once, and a decree was issued to apprehend the Baboos and others on the following day.

“ The three gentlemen from Futtchgurh, with Mr. Edward Greenway and his son Thomas, were told that the Nana required their attendance, and as they left the prison house to meet their fate elsewhere, appear to have been perfectly composed, even though they surmised that death awaited them (which alas ! to those thus situated must have ever been present), for their lips moved as if in prayer. There is clear evidence of their having been shot by the mutineers at about 5 P.M. near the wall of the Commissariat godown, Mr. Greenway being the last to fall.”

Colonel G. Williams, in his “Review of the Evidence,” then goes on to say :—

“ I now approach the most painful and difficult portion of my task, over which I would gladly draw a veil, but that duty forbids my concealing aught of the real facts attending the closing of the Cawnpore tragedy. Regarding the numerous massacres that took place, the evidence, with the exception of some few discrepancies, is clearly and freely given; but on approaching the last and most terrible scene, all seem instinctively to shrink from confessing any knowledge of so foul and barbarous a crime as the indiscriminate slaughter of helpless women and innocent children. Evidence that runs clear and strong from the 15th May to 14th of July, suddenly ceases on the fatal day of the 15th of that month.” * * * * “The evidence of the Christian drummers declares as follow :—After the five Europeans had been removed, the woman named Hosaince Khanum, or the Begum, who had the superintendence of the ladies, told them the Nana had sent orders for their immediate destruction; an appeal was made by one of them to Yousuf Khan, the jemadar of the guard, and, if the statement made by these drummers be correct, these men (the guard) refused to carry out the Nana’s orders. Debased and brutal as many of the sepoys had already become, and steeped though their hands were in Christian blood, they yet hesitated to carry out the fiendish order of one, a still greater fiend than themselves.” * * * *

"The Begum, it is said, on their refusal, returned to Noor Mahomed's hotel, and shortly re-appeared with five men, two Mahomedans and three Hindoos (others say seven), but most of the witnesses implicate in particular one man of the Nana's guard named Sarvur Khan (a lover of the Begum's). A volley is said to have been fired at random by a few sepoys, but the butchery of the women and children was committed by men sent from the Nana's compound, in executing which they were occupied from about 6 P.M. until dark, when the doors of the building were closed for the night."

"Thursday, 16th July.—An accumulation of horrors ends this frightful tragedy—one of the most barbarous on record. Early in the morning the parties who had committed the massacre went to the slaughter-house attended by some three or four sweepers, to remove the bodies from the house. On the doors being opened—fearful to relate—some three or four ladies and two or three children were found still alive. Oh! who can describe, and scarce even picture, the agonies they must have endured throughout that awful night—lying wounded on the floor, saturated with the blood of their late friends and companions, and surrounded by their mangled bodies, surviving but to meet even a more horrible death than those butchered before their eyes the preceding evening—scarcely credible is it that any could out-live the terrors of such a night, and yet retain their reason; but only truly would such seem to have been the case. Envious must they have deemed the lot of their murdered companions, when dragged forth together with the bodies of the slain by the hand of their cruel executioners, they were cast into a dry well that lay close at hand, both living and dead buried in one common heinous sepulchre; and though thousands witnessed this frightful barbarity, not one of them all in pity lifted hand or voice to stay the cruel deed, or even petition for a more prompt and merciful death for those poor quivering survivors and innocent babies—who, horrible to relate, kept circling round the well pursued by their demon executioners until caught—and then cast alive into that yawning grave, amongst the mass of dead and dying. But one consolation (poor though it be) is afforded us in pursuing the statements regarding this period, when Satan may truly be said to have been let loose upon earth—a conviction which I share in common with others, who like myself have had to search into the events of this ever-memorable mutiny. The most searching and earnest enquiries totally disprove the unfounded assertion that was at first so frequently made and so currently believed, that personal

“ indignity and dishonor were offered to our poor suffering country-women.”

My own information as recorded at the time of writing my manuscript runs thus :—

The native spies were first put to the sword, and after that the gentlemen were brought out from the out-buildings in which they were confined, and were shot ; then the cook and sweeper-women who attended upon the prisoners, after whom the poor females were ordered to come out, but neither threats nor persuasion could induce them to do so. They laid hold of each other by dozens, and clung so close that it was impossible to separate, or drag them out of the building. The sepoys therefore brought their muskets and fired a few shots upon them from the doors and windows, then the executioners rushed in with swords, and commenced hacking down the poor helpless and unoffending creatures. The fearful deed was done most deliberately and completely in the midst of the most dreadful shrieks and cries of the victims. There were about 200 souls, including children, and from a little before sun-set till dark the fiends were occupied in completing the dreadful deed. The doors of the building were then locked for the night, and the murderers went to their homes ; next morning it was found, on opening the doors, that some six or eight females with a few of the children had managed to escape death. A fresh order was sent to murder these also, but some of the survivors who had not been severely wounded, unable to bear the idea of being cut down, rushed out into the compound, and, seeing a well there, threw themselves into it without hesitation, thus putting a period to lives it was impossible for them to save. The bodies of those murdered on the preceding evening—some still breathing—were then ordered to be thrown into the same well, and “jullads”* were employed to drag them away. The innocent children who survived the previous evening’s massacre, kept running here and there to save themselves, the ruffians allowing them to do so for some time, till five or six fellows posted themselves behind the building at one of the corners, and the unfortunate innocents were desired by the others to go and hide themselves there ; the terror-stricken children did so, not suspecting any danger, and as they went one after another they were cut down. I am told that these blood-thirsty hounds gloried much on that occasion in their skill in taking the head clean off at one stroke !

In the court-yard of this house of blood, a native list of names was found by some officers ; the names are believed to be those of the ill-fated victims butchered as above, and was kept by a Mahratta

* Jullads belong to a very low caste of people generally employed as executioners and hangmen, as well as in killing dogs when they increase to a dangerous extent.

or Bengalee doctor who was appointed to attend upon the helpless sufferers. Some of the names were difficult to make out, not being quite intelligible. A translation of this list was published in Calcutta (see *Phoenix* of 20th August 1857), and I have thus been able to furnish an exact copy of it here; having merely arranged it alphabetically, for easy reference:—

Mrs. Bell	Miss Greenway	Stephen Probett
Alpen Bell	Y. Greenway	Miss Probett
Mrs. Baines	Martha Greenway	ohnnie Probett
Phillip Baines	Jane Greenway	Nellie Probett
Mrs. Battie	John Greenway	Emma Probett
Mrs. Barhing	Mary Greenway	Louisa Probett
Eliza Bennett	Lizzie Homes	Mrs. Raselier'
Mrs. Berrill	Mrs. Hill	Mrs. Reed
Mrs. Berthwick	William James	James Reed
Mrs. Brett	Mrs. Jenkins	Julia Reed
Miss Burn	Mrs. Jacobi	C. Reed
Miss Burn	Henry Jacobi	Charles Reed
Mrs. Carroll	Lucy Jacobi	Baby Reed
Miss Carroll	Hugh Jacobi	Mrs. Russell
George Caley	Mrs. Jones	Eliza Russell
C. Caley	Mrs. Johnson	Mrs. Sanders
Mrs. Carter	Mrs. Kurside	William Sanders
Mrs. Cooke	Henry Kurside	Eliza Sanpore
Mrs. Cooper	Willis Kurside	Mrs. Seppings
Mrs. Copeman	Grace Kirk	John Seppings
Mrs. Colgan	William Kirk	Edward Seppings
Maria Conway	Charlotte Kirk	Henry Simpson
Miss Conway	Mrs. Lery	Mrs. Scott
James Cousins	James Lery	Miss Sinclair
Mrs. Crab	C. Lery	Mrs. Sheridan
Mrs. D——	James Lewis	William Sheridan
Mrs. Dallas	Mrs. Lindsay	Baby Sheridan
Mrs. Daly	Frances Lindsay	Lucy Stako
Henry Duncan	Caroline Lindsay	William Stako
Weston Dundi	Lucy Lyell	Mrs. Tibbetts
Mrs. Dupton	Mrs. Mackinna	Mrs. Twoomy
Charles Dupton	Mrs. MacCuller	Mrs. Walker
William Dupton	Jervie Martindell	Daniel Walker
Henry Dupton	Mrs. Murray	Miss Wallet
Margaret Fitzgerald	Mrs. Morfett	Emma Weston
Mary Fitzgerald	Mrs. Moore	G. Weston
Tom Fitzgerald	—Moore	Elizabeth West
Ellen Fitzgerald	Mrs. Norris	Mrs. White
John Fitzgerald	William North	Miss White

Mrs. Fraser	Arthur Newman	Miss White
J. Gill	Charlotte Newman	Catherine Widlep
Mrs. Gilpin	Mrs. O'Brien	Jane Widlep
Harriet Gilpin	Miss O'Conner	Thomas Widlep
Sarah Gilpin	Mrs. Parrott	Henry Williams
Sam Gilpin	Mrs. Peters	Miss Williams
S. Gilpin	Miss Peters	Mrs. Willis
Mrs. Gillie	James Peters	Mrs. Wooller
Mrs. Green	Mary Peters	Tommy Wooller
Edward Green	Mrs. Peel	Susan Wooller
Mrs. Guthrie	George Peel	Mrs. Wrexham
Catherine Guthrie	Harriet Pistol	Clara Wrexham
Mr. Greenway	Mrs. Pokeson	Dramond Wrexham
Mrs. Greenway	Mrs. Probett	Two Ayahs

FUTTEHGURH FUGITIVES.

Mrs. Copeland	Mrs. Reen	Mr. Thornhill
Mrs. Gillom	Mary Reen	Mrs. Thornhill
Colonel Goldie	Catherine Reen	Mrs. Thompson
Mrs. Goldie	Eliza Reen	Mrs. Tucker
Mary Goldie	Lucy Reen	Miss Tucker
Eliza Goldie	Jane Reen	Louisa Tucker
Mrs. Heathcote	Dina Reen	George Tucker
Miss Long	Emalia Reen	L. Tucker
Mrs. Lewis	Mrs. Rees	Mrs. West
Emma Lewis	Eliza Rees	Mrs. Woolger
Eliza Lewis	Jane Rees	Charles Woolger
Godfrey Lloyd	Mrs. Seth	Thomas Woolger
Bala Lloyd	Colonel Smith	Mrs. Yatman
Mrs. Lupin	Mrs. Smith, and two	Three Ayahs
Mrs. Maltby	children	

Word was then sent to the villagers and others, on the road, to inform the British troops of the massacre, but this seemed not to have the desired effect ; and it only remained to make one last grand effort to repulse the conquerors. A large reinforcement was collected, and headed by the Nana himself proceeded to the seat of war. The cowardly wretches soon found to their cost, notwithstanding all their previous bravadoes, how miserably inferior they were in courage to the European soldiers. The result of these fights is too well known to need repetition here. I will, therefore, only add that the miscreant Nana found his own courage no better than the rest of the villainous rebels, and that there was nothing better for him than to run for his life. He did

so, and with him the whole of his boasting army ; they took the outer Grand Trunk road and went direct to Bithoor. The remainder of the rebels at Cawnpore and the entire population were panic-struck, and leaving home and property, every man that had a hand in the rebellion took to his heels, and it is stated that there never was seen so great a flight as on that occasion. People deserted their families to escape with their own lives : from noon till midnight nothing but immense mobs were seen rushing away as fast as possible towards the west—some crossed over to Lucknow from Bithoor ghât, others went towards Delhi, and most of the city people hid themselves in the neighbouring villages, where they were robbed by the zemindars.

The sepoys are said to have been possessed of an immense deal of money, mostly in gold mohurs, which they purchased at a great premium, having paid as far as Rs. 28 or 30 for one, usually of the value of Rs. 20. These men paid a rupee a head to the ferry to cross the river, on the banks of which they pitched away their muskets, coats, pantaloons, &c., and dispersed in different directions into the district.

It is a singular fact that this wretch—the Nana—reigned at Cawnpore *full forty days*, viz., from the 6th June till the 15th July, having bolted on the 41st day, which was the 16th July, and in that brief period he was permitted to commit such fearful atrocities as has no precedent in the annals of history.

“ The following day, 17th July, the Nana was busily occupied “at Bithoor in providing for the safety of his own wretched life and “valueless property, in which he was greatly assisted by his old “servants, placing the treasure, &c., on elephants, and from thence “on boats, and crossing them over to Oude. The craven-hearted, “accursed man of blood, remembering that he had one more poor “helpless Christian woman with an innocent babe of 32 days old “in his power, even as he fled from Bithoor in dread, directed her “equally remorseless guard to murder their defenceless captive in “cold blood, and forcibly taking with him their kind but powerless “protectors and guardians—the Paishwa’s widows—he was hence- “forth no longer seen within the halls of his adopted father.” This poor woman was Mrs. Carter. When the mutiny broke out, her husband, Joseph Carter, was keeper of the toll gate at Sewrajpoore, near Bithoor, where he and his wife were made prisoners and sent on to the Nana’s nephew, Pandoo Rung Rao, at Bithoor, along with the heads of three Europeans murdered by the mutineers. Mrs. Carter was kindly taken under the protection of Bajee Rao’s widows, who threatened to destroy themselves if Mrs. Carter was in any way molested or injured, she being in an advanced stage of pregnancy. Mr. Carter and the three heads were then forwarded

on to Cawnpore, where the poor man was killed by order of the Nana. "Poor Mrs. Carter was kept a prisoner under a guard of the 7th Cavalry, and after passing the perils of child-birth—a girl born on the 15th June—she appears to have been treated by the Paishwa's widows with consideration and even with kindness, who possessed the softer and kindlier feelings of womanhood, especially towards a suffering and unfortunate member of their sex. But to the Nana pity was unknown, revenge precious, even though expended on a weak and helpless woman and unconscious babe; and though at first overlooking his poor captive, whilst occupied in preparing for the safety of his own miserable life, he did not allow himself to forget her entirely."

CHAPTER IX.

I WILL now relate what occurred among the prisoners at Putkapoor. When the sepoy of the guard found, on the evening of the 16th July, that the station was deserted by the rebel army, and that a large portion of the population of the city was gone, they also made arrangements to leave, by bringing out their clothes and traps and making them into bundles. The subadar's pony was saddled, and at about candle-light they rose to start. The prison door had been kept locked since eight o'clock that morning; for fear of some, if not all, of the prisoners taking advantage of the confusion and running away, the subadar kept the key of the lock with him, and thus we got no water to drink all that day. Now, when the prisoners saw that they were about to be thus abandoned, they gave a tremendous shout, and used certain expressions, implying that the sepoy would for ever be cursed if they left them thus shut up in this prison. This had its effect; the subadar returned, and made arrangements with a burkundauz to sit at the door all night with the key, which he delivered to him, and if he found that the Nana's army did not return to the attack by morning, to open the door, and set the prisoners free. After the subadar's departure, the prisoners exhibited much impatience to be let out at once; however, the burkundauz was on oath, and would not open the door till the appointed time. The Nowgong "Captain" in his own anxiety seemed to have forgotten me altogether; it was fortunate there was no light that night in the prison, or he might have seen me, though I had by the advice of Mendes and Chaday Khan removed on the previous evening to another part of the building, very remote from the spot this fellow occupied.

A young man, named Kullooh, who had no fetters on, had attached himself very much to me, and now promised, together with his brother, to follow me wherever I might go. Mendes and Chaday Khan also volunteered to keep by me under all circumstances; but when at 3 o'clock next morning the prison door was opened, and a fearful rush made towards it—nearly 300 prisoners, *all* wishing to get out first—we got separated from each other, then was there much shouting all round as it was rather dark, and none could be distinguished. At last we found each other; and proceeded deeper into the city, then turned towards the Orderly Bazar, where was Chaday Khan's home. The streets were almost entirely deserted in some places, at others people were still rushing along with bundles on their backs and heads. Many stopped out of curiosity to see us, but we waited for nobody, fearful of falling into the hands, or meeting any, of the followers of Nana, or a stray sepoy. Now ~~we~~ got out of the city, and gained the public road; now we passed the assembly rooms, all was still as death in that part; the jingling of our fetters became very audible, as we sped along in our anxiety to get out of those parts; I proposed we should deaden the sound by wrapping cloth to the parts of the fetters which emitted the sound, but there was no help for it—we could not linger a moment on the public road,—on!—on! was the word. A number of people passed by us but said nothing; they were as anxious as ourselves to get away. Now another gang was seen coming ahead at some distance; we wished to run, but the fetters would not allow us. We reached the gate of Messrs. Crump and Co., and got into a lane between two compounds which led to the Orderly Bazar.

Here Chaday Khan's old mother, who expected her son, had arranged with a blacksmith in the neighbourhood to get his fetters taken off, and we had hoped to get rid of ours, too, at the same time; she took us at once to the smith's house, his door was bolted from inside. We called to him several times but received no reply; at last we burst it open and entered. An old woman, in a frightened voice, informed us that the smith had ran away only an hour ago. We asked for his instruments, but they had been buried somewhere or other—she pretended not to know. This was very discouraging, and we held a consultation as to what was best to be done. Chaday Khan determined to remain with his mother; Mendes was for going back to the city, and urged on me to accompany him, but I could not for a moment think of following such a course; I was resolved, at all hazard, to join the British camp without further delay. Kulloo and his brother pronounced that they would follow me to the last. We therefore separated; but Mendes, thinking better of it, came back and joined my party. We now crossed over the canal bridge, and,

proceeding along the opposite bank, came to a flight of steps descending to the brink of the water ; as this was at a good distance from the public road, we sat down on the inner steps to rest.

Words cannot express the emotions that crowded my thoughts at that moment. While I am penning this, it appears as if it were all a vivid dream, my heart was full even to bursting, and I poured it out, in an earnest prayer of thanksgiving, to that Almighty and Merciful Power, who had seen fit thus far to protect and spare my life.

After a while we prepared to start, but both mine and Mendes' legs were horribly cut near the ankles. The wrought-iron rings of our heavy fetters, constantly rubbing against the bare skin, had peeled it off in several places and made it very painful. The British camp was upwards of three miles from that place, and how to proceed so far we did not know. As it was still dark, we thought we could manage, by moving along the banks of the canal towards the south, to reach General Gunge, where lived a good many blacksmiths, who would perhaps strike off our fetters. So, wrapping our legs with rags under the rings, we proceeded, and reached that place in safety. The inhabitants were up, and much excitement seemed to prevail among them, as they did not know what treatment they might receive from the Europeans. Their tormentors, the sepoys and *budmashes*, had all deserted the previous night, and they now hoped they would again enjoy peace and happiness. Groups of men sat here and there anxiously discussing these matters, and seemed to be very thankful for the approach of the British. Seeing me and Mendes walking the streets in fetters, they were curious to know how we had got out of the jail ; we told them that the whole of the prisoners were let go, that we were villagers and had been imprisoned without any fault, and begged they would assist us in ridding our legs of the fetters. We were afraid to confess who we actually were, as no dependence was to be placed in natives, and there may have been still a few "*budmashes*" lurking about who would no doubt kill us. The people heartily cursed the Nana and the sepoys for all they had done, and pointed out to us where to go ; but the blacksmiths had all shut up their shops and would not acknowledge themselves to be such. The fact was, that they did not know how matters would end ; that if by any chance the Nana should again come in possession, he would punish them for taking off our fetters ; therefore, to pass it off, each would point out to his neighbour, who in his turn would direct us into another street. Thus going backwards and forwards—now into this lane, now into that—now turning to the right, now to the left—we were completely harassed, for we had been on our legs nearly a full hour.

And now the glimmerings of dawn began to appear, I resolved

to delay no longer; for, though tired, my feelings were worked up to such a pitch as not to let me rest. Join the British camp I would at any cost, but Mendes declared he could move no longer; he had an acquaintance not far away, and there he proposed we should all go. I declined, and asked Kulloo and his brother what they would advise; they said, "Come along at once; we will not desert you." So, leaving Mendes, we started, and getting out of General Gunge, we reached the same tank where I had been taken a prisoner at first. It now contained a good deal of water, for there had been much rain; passing thence we came up to the late unfortunate intrenchment, the sight of which overpowered me; I could not proceed further, I sat down on the mound *over* the trench, where my poor family used to sleep during the night, for the trench was full of water.

Kulloo and his brother espied at a distance in the plain, in the direction we were to proceed, a couple of carts abandoned by the enemy, and asked leave to go and see, if they could get any plunder from them; I readily consented, as I was desirous of being left to myself for a few minutes. When my mind was somewhat composed I followed, but before I had gone above a hundred yards, I heard somebody crying out, at a great distance in the rear, as if to me, "Stop you, prisoner—stop! where are you running away?" I turned round, and to my utter dismay beheld a tall man, wearing the dress of a Mahomedan, and holding a sword in his hand, making towards me, with long strides, repeating the above words. I made haste, and walked as fast as I possibly could, for to run was impossible, towards the carts, where Kulloo and his brother were; the distance was above 300 yards, and the enemy seemed to be fast gaining upon me, bawling away all the time as loud as possible, and threatening to cut off my head the moment he overtook me. It was "the chase of a tortoise and fox;" he was now within a hundred yards of me, and was **running**. I called out to Kulloo, who was busy rummaging the contents of one of the carts, which contained grain, &c.; he heard me, and, with his brother came immediately to my assistance, accompanied by five or six other men (villagers), whom the abandoned carts had also attracted to that place. My pursuer, seeing so many men ready to take my part, halted and desired them to give me up as I was a prisoner. Kulloo, who had armed himself with a thick club, borrowed from one of the villagers, told him to go about his business, and not meddle with me; that it was true I had been a prisoner, but that I was liberated that very morning by order of the Nana, and was now proceeding to my village. While this conversation was going on, I did not stop, but kept moving on in the direction, I thought the English camp must be located. The adversary inquired "where was my village?" and, as Kulloo did not know what to say, he

called out to me. I stated I was going to Gowkhera (for that was the name of a village in these parts I had often heard mentioned though I did not know its exact locality); the man said, "Why is the prisoner then going that way? Gowkhera is more to the right." "Tell him," said he to Kulloo, "not to go in the direction he is proceeding, for the Nana has caused a strong force to lie in wait in a ditch not far from hence, with a view to surprise the Europeans when they march in this morning—some 4,000 troops are *now* coming down from the magazine with heavy guns, and a desperate battle will be fought presently." I did not believe this, yet I was doubtful, so I turned a little to the right, still keeping in view the line I was following at first. I now approached the late lines of the 53rd and 56th Regiment Native Infantry, between which was a broad, empty space; and, hearing a distant suppressed noise, I looked through the space, and to my horror perceived an immense army, as it appeared, at dawn, covering the whole of the low ground in the front, a little to my left, the very spot which the man, who pursued me, had mentioned as being occupied by the Nana's troops. My first impulse was to get into the empty lines and hide myself; but that would not do, for if the force really belonged to the enemy, the sepoys would naturally like to come under the shelter of the lines during the day. I looked all round, there was no other place of shelter any where—the plain was a very large one. Kulloo and his brother still lingered behind, and I was quite alone. "No chance of escape," said I to myself; and, in my despair, I stood still, looking towards the army; their gun-carriages and cattle were distinctly to be seen, the sun was just about to make its appearance, and I thought I would soon be perceived and overtaken.

While thus thinking, a body of about a hundred infantry, with three persons on horseback, emerged out of the east corner of the sepoy lines, proceeding from *the* army towards the city of Cawnpore. These are, thought I, going to hasten the 4,000 troops and guns that fellow talked of a little while ago. I stood still looking, not *ca*ring to go away, for there was no place to go to. They were at a good distance, and had not observed me; but I was struck at the regular and steady movement of the footmen. Can these be the rebel sepoys? thought I to myself—surely they would not proceed so steadily; presently one of the men on horseback took off (as it then appeared to me) his turban, and put up his hand to his head. The turban was not put on for some time, but held by the left hand. It immediately occurred to me that natives are not in the habit of thus uncovering their heads; surely these are Europeans, and the officer on horseback has taken off his hat to enjoy the morning breeze. A thrill of joy filled my mind as I hastened towards them, saying, "All right! —All right!" They now observed me; the detachment turned

towards me and halted. "Oh! they have seen me!" said I, and taking the rag off my head, I waved it on high, and shouted with all my might "Hurra! hurra!! hurra!!!" This saved my life, for (the soldiers told me afterwards) the officers seeing me in that disguise and with fetters on my legs, thought I was some felon broken away from prison, making my escape; and had ordered two men from their ranks to shoot me. Their rifles had been cocked and placed to their shoulders; the aim was just being taken when I waved the rag and shouted; a second's delay on my part would have seen me a dead man. They now believed I was an unfortunate fugitive, and the whole detachment advanced towards me; I also made haste to join them. When within twenty yards of them I called out in a loud voice, "Thanks be to God, I am saved—I am saved!" The commanding officer on hearing this rode up and asked who I was. I told him, in a few words, all that had happened to me, and to the European community of Cawnpore. The other two officers and the men had by this time joined us, and pitied me very much.

One of the officers tried to open my fetters with a bayonet, but they were very strong and he could not do so. I was, therefore, obliged to accompany the detachment in that state (it was a reconnoitering party sent in advance of the army), but the joy and excitement of the moment made me forget that I had fetters on. I followed the horse of the commanding officer, to whom I was enabled to give much important information concerning the enemy, as also to act as a guide to the detachment, for the officers and men were perfect strangers to the station, and had to proceed very warily towards it; not knowing where the rebels might be hiding to fall upon them.

I pointed out our intrenchment to the officers, who galloped off to see the place; they were much concerned to know how we could have held out so long in such a defenceless position.

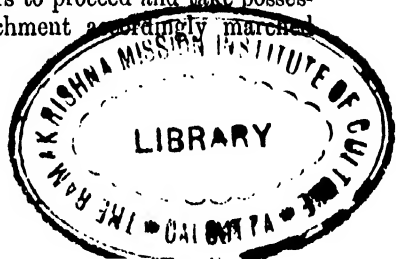
We now came opposite to General Gunge, and some natives came up and confirmed my statement with regard to the good will of the inhabitants still left in the city, so we proceeded, and more natives by degrees joined us; they stated that a number of sepoys had slept during the night in the "Mogul Saranee" (an inn), and the officer commanding detached about 25 of his Europeans to attack them if still there. These marched off at double quick pace, and before reaching the inn a great rush was made, not from *that* place, but from the new range of buildings, on the opposite bank of the canal, where the sepoys had removed from the inn—not considering the latter place at all adapted for making a bolt when necessary. There were upwards of two hundred of them in these buildings, and a more precipitate flight they never could have made in all their lives.

Not finding any rebels at the inn, the party returned, and we all proceeding thence passed the canal, when a vendor of sweetmeats met us, and was permitted to sell all he had to the soldiers, who were very hungry, not having had anything to eat, save a few hard dry biscuits, since they left Futtehpoore. The other natives, seeing that this did not suffice for so many Europeans, volunteered to procure more, and presently supplies of all sorts were brought out, with the greatest alacrity. Fruits, handcakes, sweetmeats, &c., &c., also milk in jars, came pouring in in abundance ; each vendor vying with his neighbour to be the first to get rid of his supply, not caring for payment, though the officers rewarded them well for the same. Can after can of milk was poured out, and given to the Europeans as they continued their march, so that by the time we reached the assembly rooms, the soldiers were perfectly satisfied. A respectable native merchant, whom I had known several years, named Elahee Bux, came out with a box of cigars, and freely distributed them among the detachment. The officers and men were quite pleased with the attention of the natives, who on their part strained every nerve to make themselves serviceable ; all the while blessing their stars for being once more permitted to behold the European countenance, and getting rid of the tyranny of the rebel sepoys and the *Nana's* abominable government.

It will be borne in mind, that I am not speaking this of the entire populace of Cawnpore, three-fourths of whom had absconded the previous night with the *rebels* and *budmushes*,—some from real disaffection towards us, but the greater part from apprehension. Those that remained did so with fear and trembling, not knowing whether the sins of the villainous murderers might not be visited upon the whole of the inhabitants, and fully prepared to bolt at once, should any sign of this nature be manifested.

The building in which the poor helpless ladies and children had been so dreadfully massacred now came to view. The natives pointed it out and the officers galloped into the compound ; I also followed, but could not proceed further than the gate ; I was in a manner spell-bound—I could not prevail upon myself to advance—I stood at the gate unable to move. One of the officers shortly returned, and I learnt from him that there were no dead bodies lying about, either in the enclosuro or in the house itself ; another officer returned a little while after, and stated that the scene he saw was the most awful that eye could witness. One of the rooms was a perfect pool of blood two inches deep, and the well at the back of the house was almost full to about six feet to the brim, with the dead bodies of the cruelly-murdered females and children.

It was now proposed by the officers to proceed and take possession of the magazine, and the detachment accordingly marched.



towards it, but, when we came to the rear of Messrs. Brandon and Co.'s shop, a thought struck me, that possibly the enemy might be collected in the magazine in a large body to offer resistance; this I accordingly communicated to the commanding officer, and, with his permission, selected one of the peons who had joined us from the city, and whom I knew, to run over and see. Meanwhile the Europeans were ordered to cross through the compound (Brandon's) and halt on the old parade-ground opposite to Christ Church,—after this I was desired to go and get my fetters knocked off. Since no blacksmiths had made their appearance to us, although several men had been sent to fetch one, I took Kulloo and his brother with me, as also a few more men from the mob, and proceeded to the city.

Mondes had returned to the city after I left him, and hearing of the arrival of the Europeans, came out to join them. He also followed me, as his fetters were likewise still on. Shall I state how I felt when my legs were released? No; this I leave my readers to imagine! I took the fetters in my hands and resolved to keep them as a memento as long as I live, and have preserved them carefully. Oh! with what light steps I returned to join the Europeans! I had only time to reach the boundary of the city, when all of a sudden I felt the earth under me tremble as if it had received an electric shock—I staggered as if drunk! Simultaneously there was a tremendous explosion towards our north—it seemed as if a volcano had suddenly opened. A volume of flame gushed upwards, succeeded by clouds of dense smoke and dust, and for several minutes it kept hanging over the spot. This was the last act of treachery the rebels could think of. They had placed a slow match upon the powder in the magazine, calculated to last till the detachment should reach the spot, and had the latter proceeded on to the magazine as they had intended, there is no doubt of the fearful destruction which would have ensued.

There was no occasion now to proceed further, and the detachment moved into the Quartermaster Sergeant's bungalow of the old Native Infantry lines, which was a tiled one, and had escaped the fires. This detachment was B Company, Her Majesty's 84th foot, commanded by Captain Ayten; Doctors Gayer and Le Presle were in company, and were attached to Major Rennand's advance force.

Liberty! ah, how sweet is liberty! None can fully appreciate its value but those who have been deprived of theirs! I was now again free and among friends; words cannot express the emotions of thankfulness I then felt for my miraculous preservation. I held up my ugly fetters to my eyes, half inclined to doubt my senses and to believe that I was in a dream; but the reality could not be mistaken,—all I could do was to offer up my heartfelt and grateful

thanks to that Supreme and Almighty disposer of all things, whose gracious mercy had so conspicuously been exerted in my behalf, to deliver me so miraculously—so signally—from the dangers that beset me all round. I may well exclaim with the pious Psalmist :

“ The sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of hell got hold upon me ; I found trouble and sorrow. Then I called upon the name of the Lord ; O, Lord, I beseech thee, deliver my soul. Gracious is the Lord, and righteous ; yea our God is merciful. The Lord preserveth the simple ; I was brought low, and he helped me. Return unto thy rest, O, my soul ; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee. For thou hast delivered my soul from death, and my feet from falling.”*

I had been on my legs that morning (17th July) upwards of four hours, without shoes, and almost naked, my knee-joints and ancles sadly bruised with the constant friction of the fetters. I could hardly stand—so fatigued and hungry was I, not having had any thing to eat or drink since eight o'clock the previous morning. My own state, however, was not much worse than those of my brave and generous-hearted deliverers, among whom I sat and with whom I held converse, listening with delight mixed with admiration to the few hurried details they could then give me of their several successful encounters with the rebels during their march from Allahabad to Cawnpore, a distance of 126 miles, which they had traversed in eight days, fighting four desperate battles with the Nana's villainous army, who in point of numbers were sometimes as many as ten to one of our harassed but hardy soldiers. The privations and distress the latter had undergone, the heavy marches they had made—braving the heat and rain of the most inclement seasons of the year, bearing up with hunger and thirst, lying in the open air—all these had their effect upon the poor men, who now looked as if quite done up, and so they were in body though not in heart, so that a day's rest to them was a real boon.

By this time some of my servants traced me out, and expressed great delight at seeing me again, having given me up long ago as dead ; my washerman invited me to his house to take a bath, I accompanied him, and a barber was procured to crop my hair, which was in a shabby state ; the bath refreshed me, and I felt a peculiar pleasure in putting on a couple of clean under-clothing, which was all the washerman could give me, and these even were none of the best, for the Nana had previously caused all the washermen of the station to deliver up into his store every article of European clothing in their possession, on pain of having their noses and right hands cut off ; my washerman, however, had saved, as *mementoes*,

some five or six articles of clothing belonging to my beloved family and myself, by burying them in an earthen chatty under a heap of hay, and now he brought them out to me. Oh, how precious have they been to me ever since—for these are the only relics of the dead I have ever been able to obtain, except our two dogs. After taking a meal of chuppatees and curry, which the poor man's wife had just prepared for their own breakfast, part of which she most invitingly laid before me, I returned to rejoin my deliverers in the Quarter-master-Sergeant's bungalow of the old Native Infantry lines.

The officers and soldiers did not make me out in my *clean* clothes, until I spoke to them, and then they gave me a most hearty welcome. I endeavoured to make myself as useful as possible, and acted as interpreter to the officers that day, as they did not well understand the natives.

The main force with General Havelock had moved up that day, and taken possession of the cavalry stables opposite the intrenchment. This was exactly three weeks after the signing of the treacherous agreement by which the false Nana obtained the evacuation of the intrenchment. Here many of the peaceable natives proceeded with supplies of different sorts, and received good prices for their articles. It was now explained to me that two other detachments of Europeans had that morning proceeded out of their camp, and entered the station, one of these detachments having remained near the assembly rooms, and the other having proceeded to the city and established a police there; the rebel flag, which was still waving at the kotwallee, was thrown down, and proclamation issued throughout the city, of the arrival of the British force, calling upon the inhabitants to settle down peaceably and to render every assistance to the Europeans with regard to supplies, &c. I have already stated that three-fourths of the inhabitants of the city had deserted on the previous night, so that the few who remained were all well-disposed towards us, and hailed with joy the advent of the English.

At about 10 A. M., two rebels were found in one of the city inns or *serais*—being wounded severely they were unable to make their escape; they were brought to us, and on being questioned as to who they were, answered, in a very insolent manner, that they were fighting men. One was a Mahomedan jemadar of the 2nd Light Cavalry, and the other a Hindoo Naick of the 53rd Native Infantry, and had received their wounds during the siege of General Wheeler's camp. The European soldiers at the sight of these were so excited as to be restrained with difficulty by their officers, who caused the wretches to be placed out in the sun as a preliminary punishment, where the miscreants would occasionally console themselves by uttering sundry abuse and curses upon the English, and by saying that the *kaffirs* (infidels) would yet be

destroyed. On such occasions the Europeans would reward them with a kick or so for their pains.

At noon a number of native boys and others announced in great astonishment that a *jahauz* (a ship) had just arrived in the Ganges. This was the steamer *Berhampootur*, having a hundred soldiers and several guns on board, and as a vessel of this kind had never yet proceeded so far up the country as Cawnpore, the sight of her both astonished the natives, and gave them confidence in the resources of the British, for the idea of utter destruction of nearly all Europeans had been so instilled by the Nana and his adherents in the minds of the ignorant people, that they were doubtful if the handful of British troops who had so bravely reconquered Cawnpore, could keep their own very long. The object of this vessel, I was informed, was to take the rebels at Cawnpore by surprise and rescue the poor European women and children in bondage: but, alas! it had met with many obstacles on the way, the chief of which was the want of sufficient water in the river, besides having to contend with the rebellious zemindars on the Oude bank of the river who had placed their batteries at convenient spots all along the bank. Hence she was unable to effect the noble object which she had in view, and was obliged to make slow progress, acting in consonance with the land forces under General Havelock all the way from Futtehpore to Cawnpore.

During the day with some difficulty I had procured a few ready-made clothes from the cloth merchants in the city, where I met the treasurer of my office, named Pragnarain, and from him I received great attention and kindness.

I was now enabled to make my appearance in my proper apparel, though I cannot say that the clothes were of very good texture, or of a proper fit. I once more returned to my deliverers, and found them still occupying the Quartermaster-Sergeant's bungalow. Mendes, the drummer, had also remained with us the whole of the day, and was kindly treated.

At about 5 P.M., three of the five native military prisoners, who were in irons with me in the Putkapoor jail, came to us, and were presented by me to the officers of the detachment; they brought with them their fetters for the inspection of the officers, who told them to wait a few days, when their case would be taken into favourable consideration. I may as well mention here that every one of these good men have since been handsomely rewarded by Government. Khoda Bux, jemadar, is at present enjoying a splendid appointment at Lucknow, as commandant of Police Corps on a salary of Rupees 300 per month. The rest are promoted to subadars in the 1st Battalion, Police Corps at Cawnpore, and Mendes, drummer, is Quartermaster-Sergeant of the same corps.

Pragnarain, treasurer, very kindly invited me over to his

house for the night. I took leave of the Europeans and proceeded to the city at about sunset. While passing through I had to traverse the same streets by which, only five days ago, I had been conducted as prisoner and in irons. How the tables were now turned!—then the natives pointed at me the finger of contempt; but now what a change!—every individual I met, whether high or low, bowed almost to the ground the moment he saw me, and made his obeisance—not to me, as I thought, but to the English clothes I had on, and which only a day ago would have brought sure death to the wearer.

Being comfortably housed for the night, I was very grateful; Pragnarain was kind and attentive. Kulloo had not deserted me, and was now my only servant. I promised I would do much for him, and subsequently succeeded in getting him employed as a private in the 1st Battalion Police Corps at Cawnpore, which pleased him much. The fatigues of the day had quite knocked me up, but when I laid myself down to rest for the night I could not sleep. The terrible events which had so recently transpired, came crowding over my mind. In the course of that day I had been put in possession of many of the particulars of that awful heart-rending massacre of the 15th July, which hitherto I was in perfect ignorance of, but the statements of the different persons who related them were so conflicting as to bewilder me quite. I could not learn a word about my beloved family; what had become of them, or how killed, no one could inform me. In my bondage I had so worked up my mind as to believe that many, if not all of them, were alive and in confinement with the rest; and the hope of again meeting them (for I fully believed we would all be rescued before the end of the year, though I did not think General Havelock would have been enabled to come so soon) had sustained me under my heavy trials. But now where were they? Brutally murdered in cold blood on the 15th July! I believed such to be the case at the time, but subsequent inquiries have convinced me that not one of those whom I called mine, ever returned from the banks of the river on that awful day—the 27th June. They must have all been together in one boat and perished at the same time.

The world appeared to me a blank—all my fond hopes were gone; I was alone—quite alone. I could only look upwards to heaven, and wish I had also joined the dear souls that had gone before me;—all I could do was to call upon God most earnestly in my terrible distress, and say, “O God, help thou me whom thou hast spared.”

I repeatedly asked myself—“What, if all my dear relatives at Agra are also massacred?” as was given out by the rebels whilst I was in confinement. The thought was dreadful, for if such was the case, why should I wish to live any longer?—so I resolved at any

cost to know the worst. Pragnarain exerted himself and procured a *co ssid* (messenger) to undertake the journey. The man did not fear to go ; though the road was perfectly unsafe. His appearance and way of talking convinced me of his success, and I wrote a letter to my brother on the following morning.* When the messenger returned with his reply, eleven days after, how great was my joy to learn that they were all alive and well,—how heartfelt were my thanks to God for permitting me to enjoy this satisfaction ! But the happiness and delight of the *co ssid* was beyond expression. The trip had been an event in his life,—he had been taken before the Lieutenant-Governor as the bearer of the only authentic intelligence of the doings at Cawnpore, as the *dâks* had been stopped since 5th June, and had been rewarded with a handsome donation of fifty rupees (paid to him at Cawnpore by an order). The poor fellow could not speak of anything for some time but of what the *Lord Saheb* (The Hon'ble Mr. Colvin) had said to him—how he had made him sit before him on his own footstool, and patted him on the back for undertaking so perilous a journey ; how he had asked him many questions about Cawnpore, and had made much of him.

I had reported myself, on the 18th, to the Commissariat Officer with the Field Force, who, having brought no office establishment with him, was glad to receive my services, and reported the same to the Officiating Commissary-General at Calcutta, under whose instructions my arrears of salary from 1st June were paid me, and I was instructed to re-organize the Cawnpore Commissariat Office, which I had no difficulty in doing, as the whole of the Bengalees composing the English Department were present, and were but too glad to be taken back. I was then directed to accompany the Field Force to Lucknow, but my state of health would not admit of my doing so. I was allowed to remain at Cawnpore with General Neil's force.

CHAPTER X.

It is not the object of this simple narrative to enter into particulars of the several battles won by our brave and hardy troops from the time of their progress from Allahabad in July, nor to describe the exertions the great Hero of Cawnpore—General Have-

* Copies of this letter were taken by some of the officers at Agra, and sent to their friends in England, by which means it reached the *Illustrated London News*, as may be seen at page 322 of its issue of 26th September, 1857.

lock—so strenuously made to hasten to the relief of the beleaguered garrison at Lucknow, and the obstacles and difficulties he experienced in his repeated attempts. Full details of these have already appeared from time to time in the newspapers and other works since written and published. Omitting, therefore, such details, I shall confine myself to the narration of only such particulars as appertain to the foul deeds done by the rebels and traitors at Cawnpore.

Some of the scenes, most horrifying and dreadful that eye could witness, were to be met with by persons who visited that house of terrible carnage and blood, where the helpless women and children had been butchered on the 15th July. On a near approach to the building, the mind imperceptibly filled with the most harrowing thoughts, felt as if a strange indescribable *something* hovered round the place which impressed one with awe, and the deepest melancholy. Then, as the horrified beholder entered the court-yard and stood at the threshold, his eyes fell upon the floor inside, covered over with blood, it came over his shoes as he stepped in. Tresses of women's hair, some nearly a yard long, mats steeped in gore, children's shoes, and articles of female wear, hats, bonnets (some hanging against the wall), leaves of Bibles and other religious books, children's frocks and socks, ladies' boots, broken daguerreotype cases, small earthen pots and pans, bottles and water vessels, broken and unbroken, were to be seen strewn all about the place, dotted thickly with blood. One small room was a pool of blood about two inches deep. There were the marks of bullets and sword cuts on the walls and pillars in the room and on the door posts, into these sword cuts in places long tresses of ladies' hair had been carried by the edge of the weapon and there hung—a most painful spectacle. It is stated that one of the five executioners mentioned at page 118, named Surwur Khan, had no less than three swords broken while slaughtering the helpless victims, for he was seen repeatedly emerging out of the building with his broken sword to procure another from the Nana's quarters in the hotel. Many little bits of paper carefully folded up were found containing hair of children and men, some had inscribed on them "dear Willy's hair," "Ned's hair with love," and such like endearing epithets. Ah! what precious relics must these have been to the possessors, thus carefully to have been preserved to the last, only to be parted from with life—most heart-rending spectacle!

In my anxiety to learn something about the fate of the dear ones who had been so cruelly snatched away from me, I most carefully searched high and low all over the walls, behind the doors, and in every corner and pillar of that building, for some trace of my lost ones; but no writing of any kind met my longing

eyes, except a few dates and the days of the week scrawled over here and there with charcoal, or the fragment of a broken earthen vessel,—such as, “Arrived here on the 4th July, Saturday,” then below it, was continued—“5th, Sunday;” and so on, up to the 14th July. I have on subsequent visits to the building observed writings upon the walls in places where none was to be seen at my first visit, and which from the manner of the wording I could not believe as having been traced by the unfortunate victims, though purporting to be so.

The building in which this fearful tragedy was enacted, as has been stated, is a low native house with a flat roof, having three small rooms on either side, round an enclosed court-yard, in the *centre* of which grew a large *moulsurree* tree. The court-yard, as well as the rooms, was profusely sprinkled with blood and strewn with fragments of articles steeped in blood as detailed. Here was picked up by an officer a slip of paper written by one of the Misses Lindsay, and ran as follows :—

“ Entered the barracks,	...	...	May 21st
“ Cavalry left	...	...	June 5th
“ First shot fired	...	...	June 6th
“ Aunt Lilly died	...	...	June 17th
“ Uncle Willy died	...	...	June 18th
“ Left barracks	...	...	June 27th
“ George died	...	...	June 27th
“ Alice died	...	...	July 9th
“ Mamma died	...	...	July 12th”

The writer, with her surviving sister, perished in the general massacre. The earliest comers to this House of Blood found many little relics, among which were a book, entitled “Preparation for Death,” and a torn Bible, on the fly-leaf of the latter was written, “For darling Mamma, from her affectionate daughter, Isabella Blair,” and the book had noted on the blank page as follows :—“27th June, went to the boats ;—29th, taken out of boats ;—30th, taken to Savada Kothi—Fatal day.”

All my endeavours to obtain any information regarding the fate of my beloved ones proved futile. Oh ! what would I not give to know of a certainty in what manner and under what circumstances, my beloved wife and child, and the dear ones I had so recently brought away from Calcutta, to die in so dreadful a manner, had met their several fates ! It would be some consolation to me to be certain in what particular spot their dear remains have been deposited, for killed they are without doubt. I have reason to believe that they all met a watery grave ; and what strengthens this belief is, that not one of their names is included in that list found near this building. It also appears from the statement fo

some of my servants, that not one of my beloved ones returned from the banks of the river on that terrible morning, the 27th June. It is dreadful to think of all they must have suffered on that occasion.

My child Polly's faithful servant, Thakoorancee, who was with us in the intrenchment, had escaped ; not having been permitted by the sowars to accompany the ladies to the river when they left the intrenchment that morning, and was not killed, owing to her old age and miserable appearance, This servant's statement of the distress and lamentations of my poor wife, when she found I had not returned to the intrenchment, according to my promise, is heart-rending. Every moment of the forty hours, from the time I went out on the 24th June in my disguise of a native, was counted with feverish anxiety and expectation ; when that time expired, with it all hope died away—and, oh ! how fearful was her distress of mind !—she called herself my murderer for consenting to my undertaking so perilous a journey which could not but be attended with certain death. Thus she lamented my loss, stooping down against the wall in the corner of the burnt barrack where I had left them, and where I used to sit, refusing to be comforted. My sword and my Bible, as well as the garments I had taken off on the 24th now became to her inestimably precious ; and the servant further describes that when about to leave the intrenchment on the 27th, one of the rebel sepoys took possession of the sword, and would not give it up, although she entreated him with tears to do so. She then appealed in the most pitiful manner to the bye-standers all round, explaining how precious a relic it was to her. Her appeal was so touching that one or two of the men immediately recovered and restored the sword to her, with which she hastened to join the other ladies now ready to start for the river. While they were all proceeding on foot, my child, finding that Thakoorancee was not allowed to accompany them, was greatly distressed and kept looking back and calling to her all the while, until she was hid from her view. This old servant's grief is excessive beyond expression.

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General Neil having been left in full charge of Cawnpore, now set about most energetically to establish order and authority. Police and Intelligence departments sprung up in no time ; a native corps for sweepers and other castes (held in abomination by the Hindoos and Mahomedans) was speedily formed into battalions, to bring down the pride of the *Pandies*, and paraded morning and evening ; rebel sepoys and others almost daily captured and strung up to the tree which is in the enclosure of the building where the European ladies and children were massacred on the 15th July, and where also a gallows was erected ; many high caste Brahmins among the captured rebels having been compelled to collect the

bloody clothes of the victims and wash up the blood from the floor, after undergoing these degradations, which includes loss of caste; sweepers of a peculiar class called *domes* (the mere touch of whose hand to a Brahmin is pollution of the highest degree, and death from whom is to be attended by awful consequences, namely, transmigration of the soul into seven several forms of miserable reptiles and horrible monsters, each time dying most terrible deaths) received orders to hang the infatuated wretches.

General Neil selected his ground for the British camp on the right bank of the river, opposite to the Orderly Bazar, which he inclosed with a strong and well-arranged intrenchment, the ramparts and bastions of which are of earth, rammed down by thousands of coolies, so as to render it a solid mass, and of a thickness which no cannon shot could ever penetrate; the earthwork being turfed over to prevent rain from washing it off.

Besides the raising an infantry corps of sweepers, called Police Battalion, the appointment of *thanadar*, or native superintendent of police, was conferred upon a most notorious *jullad*, by name Aitwurya, who a month subsequently was proved to be one of the principal butchers, or executioners, employed by the Nana in dragging away the bodies of the poor European victims, and who was foremost in stripping the dead of their garments and taking as booty all he could get upon their persons. However, at the time of his appointment to this high and honorable post, his real character was not well known. Thus invested, he was directed to proceed and take charge of the police-station at Bithoor at the head of a hundred other villainous *jullads*, selected by himself from among his brethren, and very likely participators in all his past iniquitous deeds.

With a tremendous shout of praise, and "*bole bala*" (long life) to General Neil, these villains accepted the appointments. Their leader Aitwurya procured a large horse to ride, and a silver badge and lace belt, with a suitable dress and shoes to put on. Thus equipped, he forthwith proceeded to Bithoor to the utmost astonishment and horror of the inhabitants, and set about carrying on a series of unheard-of oppression, bribery, and corruption. This created him enemies, and on complaints being preferred, a man named Pursunnarain, and one who was, at that period of martial law, in great authority under the orders of his European superior, was directed to proceed to Bithoor and set matters right.

This Pursunnarain appears to have made himself an object of extreme hatred to the inhabitants of the station from his covetous disposition. He proceeded according to orders, escorted by a few horsemen of the low caste new levy, and took with him his favorite dancing girl, a Cashmerial. On arrival, he immediately ordered

music and country wines to be brought, and passed the greater part of the night in drinking and dissipation. While this sort of thing was going on, at dead of night some three or four hundred rebel horsemen, who had been lurking about in the neighbourhood, fell upon Bithoor, and at once attacked the police—Pursunnarain, being nearly drunk, attempted to jump down a window, but was taken and hacked to pieces; Aitwurya and his brother *jullads* made a precipitate bolt to Cawnpore; the dancing girl managed to hide herself in some hut or other close by;—and the rebels, after committing all the havoc they could, retired to the district by morning.

Pursunnarain had a relative by name Huzaree Lall, who took his death much to heart, and set on foot a series of inquiries against Aitwurya, and succeeded in bringing home to him the fearful part he had taken while the traitor Nana had held sway at Cawnpore. The house of Aitwurya was searched and many European articles of clothing and ladies' jewels, also money, was found, buried in earthen and brass vessels under ground; and people in his neighbourhood came forward to prove that he had all along been employed by the Nana. This was sufficient to secure him a just retribution for all his brutal and wretched deeds. He was hanged on the *moulsurree* tree in the court-yard of the very building where he had so short a time back been the principal actor in dragging the dead bodies of the unfortunate women and children and throwing them into that horrible well while life was yet warm in some of them.

Our communication with Calcutta was all this while kept open, and small detachments of Europeans continued to arrive by bullock train from Allahabad; but the roads to the North-Western Provinces were entirely closed—a few *cossids* (messengers) managed to convey a letter or two occasionally with the greatest difficulty, for which they were very highly paid, and thus we could obtain information, though very imperfectly, of what was going on at Delhi, Agra, and other stations. Twice I had the pleasure of hearing from my relatives at Agra. My state at Cawnpore, as may be imagined, was very wretched—the recollection of the past—the scenes I had been in the habit of frequenting with my beloved family in happier times, constantly obtruded themselves to my view wherever I went. The station of Cawnpore became hateful to me in the extreme. I felt I was, at times, not in my right mind, and wished earnestly to get away from that place of woeful recollections.

It is true I was still attached to the Commissariat, and my salary was regularly given to me,—work was carried on, but I hardly knew what I myself did. The writers under me having been well trained to their duties, strained every nerve, from excessive regard for me, to have every thing done satisfactorily, in the hope that I might not leave them; but I could not control my feelings.

My wants were few, I had no ambition nor energy left for any thing. I was perfectly broken down both in mind and body ; I resolved to resign my appointment, and proceed by any means to my relations at Agra. The Officiating Commissary-General, Colonel Nuthall, at Calcutta, to whom I submitted my application to resign, treated me very kindly,—his kind sympathy in my affliction afforded me much comfort. He did not accept of my resignation, but recommended my applying to him for leave of absence ; at the same time giving me most excellent advice, desiring me to engage my mind in writing out a narrative of all that had transpired at Cawnpore, which would serve to divert my thoughts from more painful matters. In fact, he called upon me officially to do so. Since I could not avail myself of my leave of absence until relieved by some competent person, I was obliged to await my time, as a person from Calcutta was expected to arrive to take my place. In the meantime, following up the advice of Colonel Nuthall, I drew up an imperfect narrative, which I headed “A Brief Account of the Outbreak at Cawnpore,” &c., &c. I had not written above ten or twelve pages when an attack of cholera laid me low—but the mercy of God restored me once more to life.

As an instance of the goodness of Colonel Nuthall in cheering up my spirits, in my heavy affliction, I place before my readers copy of one of the several letters I received from that excellent officer. It is dated Calcutta, 26th August, 1857 :—

“I have received your note with the first portion of your most interesting* narrative, which will be submitted to Government to-day. You have my cordial thanks for it, and will, I trust, receive those of the Government. I shall be glad to get the remainder when your health will admit of your completing it. If you can give any information regarding the fate of Lieutenant——— I shall be very much obliged. I most earnestly urge you not to think of proceeding towards Agra, in the present unsettled state of the country. Your life is of too much value to your remaining relatives, and I may add to the Government, to be risked so wildly. If, as is supposed, the Gwalior troops are on the move, you would have no chance of reaching Agra. Your services may be of great value at Cawnpore, as you have the means of obtaining information, and this I personally pointed out to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief this morning. He said he would submit the matter to Government, *and we may yet be empowered to organize an Intelligence department*, which would afford you ample and congenial occupation, until the country to Agra and Delhi shall be cleared.—I am, Sir, Your obedient servant, (Signed) T. J. Nuthall, Officiating Commissary General.”

* This is the same narrative to which allusion is made in the Red Pamphlet at page 159, Chapter VII.

General Havelock's army of deliverance having returned, being too small to cope with the enemy on the Lucknow line, was now doomed to a short period of enforced repose at Cawnpore. The hardy but harassed men needed it to prepare for the terrible struggle then in store for them, but the feverish anxiety of the General for the speedy relief of the garrison of Lucknow was perceptible in his every movement; his uneasiness and extreme solicitude for rescuing the beleaguered garrison appeared to give him no rest. Often and often have I seen him in our new intrenchment stand over against one of the bastions towards the banks of the river, and look wistfully for a very long while in the direction of Lucknow. He would sometimes come on horse-back, and the noble animal under him seemed to understand, and enter into the feelings of his illustrious master; for he stood almost as still as a statue, while the good man with his binocular surveyed the country all round, and watched the movements of the rebels on the opposite bank of the river, where, at the distance of a couple of miles, they were busily engaged for several days in throwing up an intrenchment, and making great preparations in order to intercept the march of the British army towards Lucknow. We could see them bringing out very large guns drawn by elephants and placing them in their intrenchment, and thousands of work-people engaged in completing their stronghold, their cavalry, sometimes in large bodies, galloping about from right to left. All this the General's eye scanned over at a glance, but it did not apparently engage all his attention; what appeared more deeply to engross his thoughts, as discovered from hints occasionally thrown out, was, as it were, to plot upon his mind every inch of the difficult road he expected shortly to traverse, the greater part of which his recent experiences had already indelibly engraved upon his memory. The resources of the enemy had been well calculated, and were thoroughly known to him, and his knowledge of the surpassing difficulties of his enterprise, owing to the inadequacy of his force, made him complain incessantly for more reinforcements. His heroic determination and extreme anxiety to engage the enemy and liberate his suffering countrymen and women from that blocked up prison of Lucknow, was only checked by this one consideration—want of sufficient troops; for how long could his small force of 1,800 bayonets sustain itself against thousands of the rebel army holding most strong positions all the way to Lucknow, extending over fifty miles, and whose total strength was calculated by the natives as not under 80,000 fighting men, exclusive of the hordes which surrounded the English intrenchment at that station, for *all Oude* was in arms against us, and it is the most powerful and warlike province in Bengal, besides being the nursery of our once splendid, but now traitorous, Bengal Army?

It was not very long ere the cheering intelligence reached us that a large reinforcement was on its way to Cawnpore, commanded by General Sir James Outram, and consisting of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers and 90th Foot, detachments of Her Majesty's 64th, 78th, and 84th Regiments, and a company of Royal Artillery. These reached Cawnpore on the 14th September, and the following day brought General Outram also.

Sir James Outram, being superior in rank to Brigadier-General Havelock, had been, immediately on his arrival at Calcutta, appointed to the military command of the Dinapore and Cawnpore Divisions, and it was expected that he would now assume that command without delay. He, however, resolved to act differently, and notified his wishes in a Divisional order, issued on the 16th September, which was as follows :—

“The important duty of first relieving Lucknow has been intrusted to MAJOR-GENERAL HAVELOCK, C.B., and Major-General Outram feels that it is due to this distinguished officer, and the strenuous and noble exertions which he has already made to effect that object, that to him should accrue the honor of the achievement.

“Major-General Outram is confident that the great end for which General Havelock and his brave troops have so long and so gloriously fought will now, under the blessing of Providence, be accomplished.

“The Major-General, therefore, in gratitude for and admiration of the brilliant deeds in arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, will cheerfully waive his rank on the occasion, and will accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity as Chief Commissioner of Oude, tendering his military services to General Havelock as a volunteer.

“On the relief of Lucknow the Major-General will resume his position at the head of the force.”

This voluntary act of Sir James Outram's speaks for itself; none but a generous and magnanimous mind could have acted in the manner the Major-General did, and of which concession General Havelock was deserving in so eminent a degree.

Preparations for the march now progressed rapidly. General Havelock's own men were in high spirits for the coming engagements. These, added to the reinforcements brought by General Outram, made up the force to about 3,000 strong. He divided his troops into three brigades, two of infantry and one of artillery, the first of which was commanded by Brigadier-General Neil. The Volunteer Cavalry, mustering about 150 strong, was headed by Sir James Outram, though nominally under its legitimate commandant, Major Barrow. This small body of horsemen had distinguished

itself highly, having been most conspicuous in the field of battle throughout the campaign since General Havelock left Allahabad, in July, 1857.

The intrenchments of Cawnpore were completed, and the bridge of boats had been put in order, large supplies of provisions and ammunition had been stored in the intrenchment, and a small force, sufficient to defend the garrison, was placed in it; all our sick and wounded men were also removed into it.

Thus, leaving Cawnpore in charge of Colonel Wilson, of Her Majesty's 64th Foot, General Havelock crossed the Ganges in excellent order on the 20th September, and immediately a skirmish took place on the opposite bank. It was altogether an imposing and animating sight—the whole of the engagement could be seen from our intrenchment. The enemy's stronghold was captured without much struggle, and the guns taken from them on this occasion were sent into Cawnpore at once. The army now halted on the river-side, occupying the ground wrested that morning from the enemy, and stretching its encampment upwards of a mile in length.

General Havelock commenced his march to Lucknow on the 21st, and by midday of the 22nd the whole of the camp-followers, baggage, and cattle, had disappeared; but a very strong westerly breeze had sprung up on the previous day and continued for four days, the rain fell in torrents the whole time upon the almost unsheltered army, as very few tents had been taken, in order not to encumber the army, since a large park of artillery and an abundant supply of ammunition had accompanied the force.

The rebels rapidly retreated as General Havelock advanced, and we heard of one more skirmish which took place at a distance of about six miles from Cawnpore, when two more guns were taken by our infantry; and Sir James Outram having charged upon the enemy whilst they fled from the face of our army, succeeded in capturing two other guns, leaving upwards of a hundred of the rebels sabred on the plains. The enemy fought no more after this until the British army reached Alum Bagh, which is four miles from Lucknow; but they blocked up the road after our troops had passed on, and all communication with Cawnpore was effectually cut off.

For several days no intelligence of any kind reached us from the army, and we had no means of communicating with them. An attempt was made by our Commanding Officer to establish a police-station at Oonao and keep the Lucknow road open; a hundred armed natives were sent to that place for that purpose, but it was not long before they were attacked and cut up by the rebels almost to a man. Our cossids could bring us no intelligence, and they returned, stating they were unable to proceed. It was, however, rumoured at the station that Lucknow had fallen into the hands of

the British, but nothing certain could be ascertained, all was anxiety and conjecture.

On the 1st of October, at noon, the cannons from our ramparts began suddenly to fire a royal salute. All in the intrenchment—the soldiers, the convalescents, and the natives—assembled together ; and no sooner was it known that the salute announced the fall of Delhi, than the Europeans gave three loud cheers, and the countenances of all brightened up with the happy intelligence. This excitement had not subsided when a second salute gave cause for still greater happiness, as it proclaimed that Lucknow was also in our possession.

This last salute was, however, found afterwards to have been premature ; for some days subsequently correct information was received that our troops had only gallantly charged the enemy and entered Lucknow, fighting their way desperately over every obstacle till the Residency was gained, and the besieged had been enabled to welcome the conquerors, but the loss on our side had been severe, upwards of 500 had been killed and wounded, and General Neil, having received a shot through the head from the top of an archway, had died on the spot. The numerical strength of the enemy was so great, and they had swarmed round our army with such determination, that our small force was perfectly inadequate to the task of conducting out the ladies and children from the intrenchment. Thus was General Havelock hemmed in, but he had previously secured a very strong position at Alum Bagh, where he had left his baggage and cattle with a small force to protect the same. These, now left to themselves, were attacked in great force from all sides, but succeeded in bravely holding their own.

Great anxiety was felt at Cawnpore from a knowledge that only fifteen days' provisions had been taken by General Havelock, and it was feared that his supplies would be running short. Colonel Wilson therefore resolved at all risk to send out a supply, escorted by 300 Europeans and two guns. The convoy left on the morning of the 2nd October, and was likewise not heard of for some days after. Fears were entertained for its fate ; fortunately it had reached Alum Bagh in safety.

Nothing further could now be done at Cawnpore to help our troops at Lucknow, but it was hoped that ere long fresh reinforcements would arrive, and all would yet end well ; as it was, small detachments of Europeans continued to arrive from Allahabad and served to strengthen our own garrison.

CHAPTER XI.

My prolonged stay at Cawnpore enabled me to become acquainted with many incidents which had actually occurred during the outbreak, most of which have been related in this narrative. The people, as stated before, were apprehensive of giving information on this subject to the European authorities ; but, knowing me well, they were unreserved in their communications to me. I also sought out every one of the few Christian survivors who had not gone into the intrenchment, and learnt their several histories and the means by which they had been saved.

On or about the 10th October, I proceeded for the first time to Savada, as hitherto want of time from public duties and other causes had prevented my going so far. A Hindoo, named Munglee Pershaud, of Putkapoor, being proprietor of the above building, informed me a day or two before that his chowkeedar (watchman) had reported having seen some English writings on the walls in the inner apartments of the Savada House. This intelligence was quite sufficient inducement for me to put aside every thing else, and proceed to the building in the earnest hope of being able to find some traces of the fate of my lost family, or of those who had been kept prisoners in that building.

Munglee Pershaud also accompanied me ; and on our way related many incidents connected with the dreadful doings of the rebels, which he had been enabled to glean. He told me he had heard that a tall European, believed to be Doctor Harris, Civil Surgeon, had been killed under one of the trees outside the compound of the "Savada House," and that his body had not been removed from the spot. The capture and death of this unfortunate officer is said to have occurred under the following circumstances :—He was taken near a village called Pewundee, on or about the 28th June, and is supposed to have been one from the English intrenchment who fell in that treacherous massacre at "Suttee Chowra Ghat." The zemindar of the village immediately sent the officer to the Nana, bound, and escorted by some of his people. On being brought before the traitor-chief, well guarded and secured, he spoke very boldly, and warned the Nana that many months would not pass over when his blood would be revenged by his countrymen. No heed was given to this, and one of the young men of the escort (a Thakoor by caste) was directed to take off his head with the sword he held in his hand. The man looked surprised on hearing this order, and said that he thought he had already performed to the full extent the duty that had been assigned to him by his own master, which was to escort the poor gentleman to the Rajah Saheb, but since he could not well disobey this new order, he would demand that the hands of

the captive officer be released, and a sword given to him, when he would most readily attack him, but that nothing would induce him to strike a person in so helpless a position as the poor captive. "What," said he to the Nana, "am I a Thakoor, or a butcher, that you order me to commit so foul a slaughter?" This was a broad hint to the miscreant, and displeased him much; however, he contented himself by taking no notice of this bold speech, but, turning to his own followers, he made a sign; and the poor gentleman was taken away, without another word, to the end of the compound and murdered under a tree.

We reached the place, and on entering the "Yellow Building," as it is usually termed by the natives, I found much writing on the walls, but nothing that could warrant my believing that such had been traced by the hands of the poor unfortunate captives; they were mostly caricatures, and scriblings of names by the European soldiers who came with General Havelock's column. One room only (a bathing-room in the north corner of the building) had traces of a good deal of pencil writing, but so defaced as to be hardly intelligible. I could distinguish only a word or two here and there: one was—"treacherously;" and a good deal below that was another—"our blood." I had now no doubt left in my mind that this pencil writing had been inscribed on the wall by some of the victims, and I endeavoured my best to decipher some more of the writing; but save a few disjointed letters, and some small words, such as "we" or "and," I could not make out any thing more. It appears that when the Nana had broke up his camp at Savada some of his people had carefully effaced all the writing on the walls. In this bathing-room had been confined for a few hours, I learnt, the officers and men brought back from the fugitive boat on 30th June, having been kept there until their murderers could decide in what way they should kill them, and it is very possible that when they had some inkling of their doom, they traced that writing upon the wall; for it is stated that when their ruffianly captors came to remove them, at about 4 P. M. of that day, the poor fellows tore off their shirts and with the shreds tied the door, so as to prevent the demons from taking them away; but it was all to no purpose—they were but poor helpless captives! I felt much disappointed at not being able to make out the writing. Had the attempt to rub it off been made with some dry substance, many more words might have been left intelligible, but water had been used, and the paint on the wall having been mixed up with the writing, had entirely disfigured it.

Thus disappointed, I proceeded towards the tree where the murder of Doctor Harris was said to have been perpetrated, and which was outside the compound towards the west end; the wall

of the compound being low and broken, we were enabled to go direct. My horror may be conceived, when, on reaching the corner, my eyes glanced upon some eight or ten human skulls huddled up together in a hollow place along the edge of the wall, and on looking about me a little further, I found a great quantity of human bones strewn all over the place, together with fragments of many more skulls. These skulls and bones belonged to the poor officers and men who were massacred on the 30th June, as their bodies had not been removed owing to their murderers having left that locality a day after the foul deed. I picked up some of the skulls and examined them ; there could be no doubt but that they belonged to Europeans ; but, alas ! was there any means to distinguish any particular person ?—all distinction of birth, rank, and grade was there extinct. The stern commandant and the obedient private, the beloved and much-liked officer and the loving and faithful soldier in the ranks, all lay there together in one mass, and on perfect equality. * * * *

“Verily every man living is altogether vanity.”

* * * *

Oh ! what anguish, to think of their untimely end ! What hopes and fears—what conflicting emotions—had once filled those brave and undaunted hearts ! But——peace. They are now at rest ! Such is life !—“ Man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain : he heapeth up riches and cannot tell who shall gather them.”

* * * *

With a heavy and bleeding heart I left the spot, and proceeding to the fatal tree, searched for the bones of poor Doctor Harris. A skull somewhat larger than the others I had just seen, was visible from among some overgrown weeds in a ditch close to the tree, and further search brought to view some bones. There were many large ditches close by, and being filled with the late rains, had attracted a few washermen there. These informed me that nearly all the skulls and bones of those poor Europeans had been dragged away by jackalls and other wild beasts from the spot where the murder took place, and had been strewn about all over that part. I searched for them and found three or four more ; one was lying on the brink of a ditch, and not far from it something like a towel covered over with clay and turf appeared to view. I had this dug up, and found that a large portfolio was wrapped in it, bearing marks of having been perfectly saturated in water, as the leaves were glued together, and could not be separated now that it was dry ; but there were traces of its having contained fancy note paper and envelopes, also many fragments of poetry apparently written in a neat, lady's handwriting. In one of the compartments of the portfolio, which I had torn open to examine, were found about a dozen visiting cards all

glued together and the writing effaced ; I, however, found one with some writing on it, and on separating it from the rest, read—"Mr. H. R. Cooper." This I have preserved.

Unable to bear the idea of allowing these human bones to remain thus exposed any longer, I had them all collected into a hole dug the following day near the spot for that purpose, and covered up with earth. There were seventeen skulls in all, and about thirty baskets of bones.

Returning from the Savada House, I visited the unfortunate intrenchment, where I had for the last time parted from my all beloved ones. This fearful looking place had so melancholy an interest about it, as to often attract me to it. On this occasion, having sent away my attendants, and after passing a short time there, I took the same route I had traversed on the 24th June, when I came out in disguise—every spot of ground was distinctly remembered ; at last I reached the place, in General Gunge, where the rebels had at that time placed a police-station, and where my captor, the Mahomedan sowar, had brought me on the occasion. I wished to know if the poor people there would recognize me now, though it was not likely, since I was not in the same disguise ; at first they were afraid even to speak to me on the subject, but being gradually drawn into conversation, two of the women (one of whom had given me water to drink in my distress) recollected the circumstance perfectly well, and related every particular, quite unconscious that I was the identical person of whom they were talking. I asked if they knew the fate of the man ? They answered, "He was kept in the jail, but what became afterwards of him they could not tell." They were not a little astonished and pleased when I told them that I was the man ; and these poor women had now no difficulty in recognizing me. After thanking them, and making some small returns for their kindness to me when I was an utter stranger to them, I left the spot.

The station of Cawnpore was again threatened about this time. The rebels under the traitor Nana learning that General Havelock's troops were unable to return from Lucknow, and being aware of the weak state of our garrison, were mustering in force about a mile beyond Bithoor, with the intention of surprising our force, more especially as a body of mutineers—Delhi fugitives—had reached Bithoor. Small detachments of European soldiers were almost daily arriving from Allahabad by bullock train, and our good old Commanding Officer, Colonel Wilson, who was then in charge of Cawnpore, knowing the difficulties of the British troops in Alum Bagh before Lucknow, was exceedingly anxious to muster up a sufficiently strong party to escort a further supply of provisions to that place. Of this no doubt the rebels near Bithoor were

perfectly aware through the means of their spies, who came daily into our camp in various disguises with bundles of hay, grass, and wood to sell as honest villagers, as well as labourers, and it was impossible for the police to detect the spies from the others, since thousands of poor people were still daily employed by us in strengthening the intrenchment, pulling down obstructions and ruins of houses, and filling up ditches, &c. Rebel sepoys even had the audacity occasionally to mingle with the last-mentioned classes, and to work inside the intrenchment, which enabled them to know our position and strength very correctly. Two sepoys had thus been detected and given up by some of the village labourers, and on being proved to be such had been hanged. The enemy had in fact every facility in obtaining correct information of our doings, and were no doubt now arranging to attack us as soon as our convoy should leave for Alum Bagh. Orders were issued on the 17th October for the detachment, mustering about 700 bayonets, to march off towards Lucknow at once, and preparation was made accordingly; but at midnight, instead of proceeding in that direction, the force was moved out as quickly as possible in the direction of Bithoor, accompanied by a field battery and a few native horsemen, without any encumbrances except as much provision as was calculated to last the troops for four days. They reached Bithoor that same morning, and after a short rest proceeded to attack the enemy, whom they found occupying a grove of trees about a mile in front. No sooner did the rebels perceive our troops than they opened two guns upon them, killing two and wounding three or four others. It did not take long to reply with our guns, and after firing a few rounds, the infantry charged upon the enemy, carrying every thing before them. The rebels escaped with a loss of about 70 in killed and wounded, five carts of ammunition and three guns. Our gallant little band returned to Cawnpore on the 20th, bringing with them three or four prisoners, one of whom was the bearer of a purwana, or letter, from the Nana, calling upon the people in and around Bithoor to collect provisions and supplies of different kinds and keep in readiness for the use of himself and his "terror-conveying" army.

After a couple of days rest, the convoy of provisions was despatched to Alum Bagh, and reached in safety; but, unfortunately for the beleaguered garrison at Lucknow, no portion of this provision could be conveyed to them, for though the distance was only four miles, yet the state of things was such that it was a difficult matter even to glean the remotest intelligence, and our force at Alum Bagh knew nothing of what had occurred within the previous fortnight, or what was then going on at Lucknow.

The fall of Delhi having in some measure freed our troops

from occupation in the Upper Provinces, a large force was now rapidly pushed towards Lucknow for the relief of the beleaguered garrison under the command of Brigadier-General Hope Grant, C. B.

On the 26th October the Brigadier-General marched into Cawnpore. His column, now about 5,000 strong, crossed the Ganges after five days, with a large number of carts and about 3,000 camels laden with supplies, for Lucknow. On the 3rd November the column reached Alum Bagh, and awaited the arrival of our new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, who was then on his way from Calcutta.

Having arrived at Cawnpore and completed his preparations, the Commander-in-Chief started on the 9th November and joined the forces before Lucknow in safety.

Cawnpore was now left under the command of General Windham, with about 1,000 troops, which continued to be augmented by small reinforcements arriving daily from Allahabad.

About a week or ten days after the departure of the Commander-in-Chief, it was strongly reported at Cawnpore that Lucknow had fallen, though no authentic information had reached us. Every preparation was therefore made to receive and welcome the rescued ladies and children. Large tents were pitched for their accommodation, servants hired, furniture, crockery-ware, and many other necessities, were borrowed from merchants and others, and laid out in tents in the compound of the "old Cawnpore hotel" and the assembly rooms. A large number of carriages and conveyances was also engaged to meet them half way from Lucknow, as soon as correct information of their departure from that place should be received.

Amidst all this preparation and joy, alas ! the devoted station of Cawnpore was doomed once more to be besieged. The rebels of the Gwalior Contingent having established themselves at Calpee, about 30 miles from Cawnpore on the banks of the Jumna, had by this time matured their preparations; and taking advantage of the absence of the Commander-in-Chief, and the comparatively small force left for the protection of Cawnpore, now considered the time had arrived to make an attack. Their well-trained and disciplined army, the efficient state of their artillery, (having brought away from Gwalior a complete siege train,) their large and almost inexhaustible supply of ammunition and provisions, as well as formidable display of arms of all descriptions, inspired them with the hope of certain and speedy victory.

The rebel army now advanced upon Cawnpore; but, before leaving Calpee, it was resolved that the army was most scrupulously to avoid all oppression and molestation of the natives, as it was thought that the defeat of the Nana and his army was attributable

to the fearful atrocities committed by himself and his followers whilst in possession of Cawnpore.

These "important" matters having been duly disposed of to the mutual satisfaction of all parties, the army was divided into different brigades, commanded by sirdars selected from among the Gwalior Contingent troops, which were computed to be not under fifteen thousand in number,—besides the remnant of the Nana's late army, which, to the amount of about six thousand, also volunteered their services; but these, from their past conduct, were mistrusted by the Contingent, who pronounced them "a dastardly set," and would not permit any of their leaders to be entrusted with authority or command in the field, though they availed themselves of their services.

Intimation of the advance of the enemy having reached Cawnpore, Major-General Windham collected nearly the whole of the troops at his disposal, and proceeding to the main canal, about four miles from Cawnpore, encamped himself there on the 24th November, and, throwing up a temporary intrenchment, waited to strike at any portion of the advancing enemy that might come within his reach, keeping at the same time his communication safe with Cawnpore. On the 25th the enemy began to make their appearance, and on the following day prepared for an attack. It was resolved to meet their first division on the Pandoo Nuddee; our force consisted of about 1,200 bayonets, 8 guns, and 100 mounted sowars. "The enemy, strongly posted on the other side of the dry bed of the Pandoo Nuddee, opened a heavy fire of artillery from siege and field guns; but such was the eagerness and courage of our troops, and so well were they led on by their officers, that we carried the position with a rush, the men cheering as they went, and the village, more than half a mile in its rear, was rapidly cleared. The mutineers hastily took to flight, leaving in our possession two eight-inch iron howitzers and one six-pounder gun. In this fight our loss was not severe. Observing from a height on the other side of the village, that the enemy's main body was at hand, and that the one just defeated was their leading division, the General at once decided on retiring to protect Cawnpore, the intrenchments, and the bridge over the Ganges. We accordingly fell back, followed, however, by the enemy up to the bridge over the canal.

"On the morning of the 27th, the enemy commenced their attack with an overwhelming force of heavy artillery. Our position was in front of the city. We were threatened on all sides, and very seriously attacked on front and right flank. In spite of the heavy bombardment of the enemy, our troops resisted the attack for five hours, and still held the ground, until finding that the mutineers had fully penetrated the town, and having been told that they were

then attacking the fort, the General directed the whole force to fall back into the fort, with all the stores and guns, shortly before dark."

While the battle was raging in the morning (27th November) much anxiety prevailed among the inhabitants of the city, and in the fort. The bombardment of that day, as heard from our intrenchment at a distance of two miles, was such as few persons could have ever witnessed. As the day advanced the sound of the bombardment grew louder, as if approaching our intrenchment, till, about two in the afternoon, the battle had advanced to within a mile of us ; and, shortly after, the whole force was obliged to fall back into the fort. Then came a rush of natives from the city to us for protection, and such as had taken the precaution to provide themselves previously with passes received admittance at once, but the rest had to shift for themselves the best way they could.

The confusion and panic which prevailed that evening in the intrenchment baffles description. It was, however, fortunate that the enemy had not followed up their advantage, and charged us into the fort, as their overwhelming numbers would have made this an easy matter, and our men were so harassed and knocked up with the day's work, that they would have been unable to repulse them. We now fully expected to be besieged for a while until assistance could arrive from Lucknow or Allahabad, but as there were no ladies or children in the intrenchment, our anxiety was not great, since the fort was sufficiently strong to enable our holding out for months, and there was no want of provisions ; for a large supply had been stored in.

It was not difficult now to convince those few grumblers who previous to this attack were in the habit of speaking disparagingly about the late General Sir Hugh Wheeler's management during the fearful siege of June last, for here we were with upwards of two thousand European soldiers in almost as bad a predicament as that unfortunate General was with but two hundred and ten men, besides having to encounter other very serious difficulties.

The enemy did not occupy the city that night. General Windham now assembled all his principal officers, and it was decided that an attack should be made upon the enemy on the following day. The battle on the 28th was very severe and lasted the whole day. The enemy took possession of the city of Cawnpore during the night of the 28th, and on the morning of the 29th commenced bombarding our intrenchment with a few guns from a good distance.

The enemy made every effort to destroy our bridge of boats so as to prevent any assistance coming from Lucknow. Their round shot struck the bridge in many places, as did the rockets which they fired in that direction from time to time. They also made a night attack, and attempted to reach the bridge, but the Rifle Brigade,

who occupied the chief outworks in that direction, and kept a most vigilant look out both day and night, repulsed them. Failing in these attempts the wretches devised a new plan, this was to get a couple of light boats and set them adrift in the middle of the current after placing in them a quantity of oily and other combustible matter and setting them on fire. The boats came rapidly along the strong current, blazing away at a famous rate, and would no doubt have communicated the flames to the bridge of boats had they been allowed to stick amongst them, but our look-out men were watchful, and took measures in time to intercept the progress of the burning boats.

The rebel batteries could not do us any serious injury in the intrenchment, owing no doubt to the distance they were posted—for the mortars and howitzers in the fort would not permit the enemy to plant a gun with impunity sufficiently near to admit of its taking effect. The way our artillery officers managed these was very ingenious: as soon as the exact position of a newly-erected battery of the enemy, in some ditch or behind a strong building, was ascertained from the smoke arising from the guns when fired, six or eight of these little mortars would be arranged in position, loaded and primed, and at the word of command all would be let off at once, when the shells followed each other in quick succession, humming a peculiar tune in the air, and, as it were, like so many bull-dogs, searching out the spot, exploded with tremendous effect, darkening the whole space with whirlwinds of dust. This was enough; the same battery never played again from that spot. Oh! that such means of silencing the rebel battery had been at hand in General Wheeler's ill-fated intrenchment. We should have been comparatively secure from the annoyance of the Nana's guns.

General Windham had despatched messengers to Lucknow as soon as Cawnpore had been attacked, and several others followed each other with notes to the Commander-in-Chief, informing him of the real state of things with us, and an anxious look-out was kept up all the time in the Oude direction for his arrival.

It appears that after the relief of the Lucknow garrison had been effected—which has been ably described by other writers, and will be found in other works—all the ladies and children who had been rescued from that fearful confinement, and the sick and wounded, amounting to about 2,000 souls, were conducted to Alum Bagh on the night of the 22nd November. Lucknow itself was abandoned to the rebels for the time, and a force made up to 4,000 strong was left under Sir James Outram to hold their position at Alum Bagh. General Havelock had been elevated to the rank of Knight Commander of the Bath for his first three battles, and information had reached him of the estimation in which his country held him for his

bravery. But, alas ! this good and brave man was no more. He was numbered among the dead. The shield of God had protected him throughout the campaign from the shots of the enemy. His life was prolonged till he should witness the realization of his fondest desire—"the relief of the besieged garrison,"—and it now pleased his Maker that he should "lay himself down and die." An attack of dysentery had confined him to his bed since the 20th November, and soon after his removal to Alum Bagh he became worse ; every thing was done to restore him, but his exertions, both of body and mind, had been too much for his exhausted and worn-out constitution.

The remains of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B., were buried at Alum Bagh on the 25th November, 1857.

Two days after this sad event the Commander-in-Chief proceeded with the remainder of his troops, together with the rescued ladies and children, towards Cawnpore. On arrival at Bunnee, the report of heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore was heard ; and shortly afterwards the messengers of General Windham had reached him with the unwelcome news that Cawnpore was besieged a second time. The force was accordingly pressed forward, and, when within a few miles of the station, Sir Colin preceded the column. At about four o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, the 29th November, a body of horsemen was seen at a good distance on the Lucknow road, galloping towards our intrenchment ; all eyes were turned upon the riders as they came at a splendid pace ; the officers in the intrenchment raised their telescopes, and shortly after the name of SIR COLIN was passed all round ; a little more and the gallant commander had crossed the bridge of boats, and had reached the intrenchment. Then the troops gave a thrilling cheer, and the cannon boomed out a salute. There was animation in every countenance, and every eye was lit up with joy. Sir Colin did not remain inactive for a moment ; his eagle eye at once spanned the whole affair. The Rifle Brigade were ordered to charge the mutineers and to drive them out from that portion of the city which was nearest to our outworks. This they did in a gallant style under the command of Colonel Fyers, who was supported by Colonel Walpole. The Lucknow force was encamped that evening within three miles of the Ganges, on the left bank.

Alas, for the poor fugitives from the Lucknow garrison ! Their trials and anxieties were not ended yet. Having undergone such severe hardships and privations during a protracted siege of five months, they had hoped to enjoy a little comfort and peace on reaching Cawnpore. But it was destined to be otherwise. The din of battle and the booming of cannons was awaiting them, and greeted their ears. The preparations we had made for the reception

of the ladies and families had, unfortunately, all fallen into the hands of the Gwalior Contingent, and had been turned by them into smoke and ashes. Thus we were quite unable to render the Lucknow garrison any assistance.

But the meeting with a near relative and family, and some dear friends who had been thus snatched from the very jaws of death, afforded me inexpressible joy and much cause for thankfulness to that Great Power whose goodness and mercy had spared our lives, and enabled us to meet each other once more.

"It had now become necessary" (wrote the Commander-in-Chief in his dispatch of the 2nd December) "to proceed with the utmost caution to secure the bridge—all the heavy guns were placed in position on the left bank of the Ganges, and directed to open fire and keep down the fire of the enemy on the bridge. A cross fire was at the same time kept up from the intrenchment, to cover the march of the troops. When darkness began to draw on, the artillery parks, the wounded, and the families were ordered to file over the bridge; and it was not till 6 o'clock P. M., on the 30th, that the last cart had cleared the bridge. Thus the passage of the force, with its encumbrances over the Ganges, had occupied thirty hours."

"The camp now stretches from the dragoon lines in a half circle round the position occupied by the late General Sir Hugh Wheeler, the foot artillery lines being occupied by the wounded and the families."

The rebels seeing the large camp coming from Lucknow, had given out among themselves, in order not to discourage their army, that Rajah Maun Singh, a famous warrior of Oude, to whom the Nana had gone for assistance, was advancing up in all haste to attack the British, and that Cawnpore would soon fall into his hands. This report, however, proved so far true that four regiments from Oude had arrived about the same time by a different route through Bithoor and joined the Gwalior Contingent. But the avaricious miscreant Nana, who had accompanied them to Cawnpore, taking advantage of so good an opportunity, was busily engaged in endeavouring to recover his gold and silver articles from a large well (having a very deep spring) near his place at Bithoor, wherein it appears he had put all his valuables unknown to any body, save a few of his trusty followers, previous to his having abandoned that place on the 17th July. As this well contained a great quantity of water, it was a difficult matter for him to get out the articles; he was therefore constrained to call in the aid of some of the village people, but before they could succeed, both the Nana and the whole of the rebels were dispersed by the Commander-in-Chief. Through the means of those villagers, the British were subse-

quently informed of the fact of the well containing valuables, and several large chests of gold and silver plate were afterwards taken out from it, which occupied about a fortnight. The value of the whole, it is said, was estimated at upwards of ten lacs of rupees (£100,000 sterling).

The manner in which the camp of the rebels was reached and taken and their rout completed, is contained in the following extract of Sir Colin's dispatch, dated the 11th December, 1857 :—

" I have the honor to report to your Lordship, that late on the night of the 3rd instant, the convoy, which had given me so much anxiety, including the families and half the wounded, was finally dispatched to Allahabad, and on the 4th and 5th the last arrangements were made for consigning the remainder of the wounded in places of safety, while a portion of the troops was withdrawn from the intrenchments to join the camp.

" On the afternoon of the 5th, about 3. P.M., the enemy attacked our left picquets with artillery, and showed infantry round our left flank. After two hours of cannonading the enemy retired on the afternoon in question. Arrangements were then made for a general attack on him the next day.

" His left occupied the old cantonment from which General Windham's post had been principally assailed. His centre was in the city of Cawnpore, and lined the houses and bazars overhanging the canal, which separated it from Brigadier Greathed's position, the principal streets having been afterwards discovered to be barricaded. His right stretched some way beyond the angle formed by the Grand Trunk road and the canal, two miles in rear of which the camp of the Gwalior Contingent was pitched, and so covered the Calpee road. This was the line of retreat of that body.

" From intelligence received before and after the action, there seems to be little doubt that in consequence of the arrival of four regiments from Oude, and the gathering of various mutinous corps which had suffered in previous actions, as well as the assemblage of all the Nana's followers, the strength of the enemy now amounted to about 25,000 men, with all the guns belonging to the Contingent, some (36) thirty-six in number, together with a few guns belonging to the Nana.

" Orders were given to General Windham on the morning of the 6th to open a heavy bombardment at 9 A.M. from the fort, and so induce the belief in the enemy that the attack was coming from the General's position. Brigadier Greathed was desired to hold the same ground opposite the centre of the enemy which he had been occupying for some days past, and at 11 A.M. the rest of the force was drawn up in contiguous columns in rear of some old cavalry lines, and effectually masked from the observation of the enemy.

"The cannonade from the intrenchment having become slack at this time, the moment had arrived for the attack to commence.

"The advance then continued with rapidity along the whole line, till the canal bridge was passed; the troops, which had gathered together, resuming their line of formation with great rapidity on either side as soon as it was crossed, and continuing to drive the enemy at all points, his camp being reached and taken at 1 P. M., and his route being complete along the Calpee road.

"Without losing any time, the pursuit with cavalry, infantry, and light artillery was pressed with the greatest eagerness to the fourteenth milestone on the Calpee road, and I have reason to believe that every gun and cart of ammunition which had been in that part of the enemy's position which had been attacked, now fell into our possession. The troops having returned from the pursuit at midnight on the 6th, and their baggage having reached them on the afternoon of the next day, Brigadier-General Grant was detached in pursuit on the 8th with the cavalry, some light artillery, and a brigade of infantry, with orders to destroy the buildings belonging to the Nana Sahib at Bithoor, and to press on to Seria Ghat, twenty-five miles hence, if he had good tidings of the retreating enemy. This duty was admirably performed by the Brigadier-General, and he caught the enemy when he was about to cross the river with his remaining guns.

"The Brigadier-General attacked him with great vigor, and, by the excellent disposition he made of his force, succeeded in taking every gun the enemy possessed without losing a single man."

The total number of guns taken from the enemy at Cawnpore and during the pursuit after them amounted to 32, with a very large quantity of carriage, ammunition and provisions, so that it took several days to bring them into the fort. The rebels had done a great deal of mischief during the ten days they were in possession of Cawnpore. Those few houses in cantonments that had escaped hitherto, were on this occasion reduced to ashes. The assembly rooms, being a flat-roofed house, had been brought into good use by our authorities, and contained a large quantity of soldiers' spare bedding, camp equipage, confiscated property, &c.; these were set fire to by the rebels before they were driven out of the station, and the roofings of the building were completely destroyed.

* * * * *

The aspect of this once beautiful station of Cawnpore is entirely changed. Residents, who were absent when the mutiny broke out in June, now returned and looked at the place in bewilderment, and shook their heads in sorrow. Houses, gardens, large shady trees, bazars and huts, all had disappeared—every thing, to the extent of a

mile all round the new fort, was now being cleared away. The spot where once stood the splendid assembly rooms, the shops of Brandon and Company and J. D. Hay, merchants, had become a dreary waste. The House of Slaughter of the helpless women and children had likewise been dismantled; and the trees round the well and the court-yard all cut down. The well containing the remains of the murdered had been covered in with earth on the arrival of General Havelock's troops, and, since which, a circular wall, two feet from the ground, had been raised all round it, and filled up with brick and mortar; the *flat* surface at the top of which being about nine feet in diameter.

The soldiers of H. M.'s 32nd Regiment, on their arrival from Lucknow, put up a very expressive inscription near the Well of Murder to the memory of their wives and children. It is in the shape of a cross; and one or two other small tombs and inscriptions have since sprung up in its vicinity. These were the only marks that indicated the place of slaughter to a stranger at that time.

The shattered barracks in the old intrenchment of June, 1857, stood as they did on the day I had parted with my lost family; all the marks of the terrible shots were there, as they were made in the walls before our very eyes, while we crouched in the corners to avoid them. Oh! monument of sad recollections! The spirits of the dead appeared to be still there, but where were the dear ones themselves?—Gone to be with the Lord. His mercy has been vouchsafed, under their sore trials, to the saving of their souls; and we shall meet again in a happier and better world—beyond these stormy skies—never to part again.

The site of the Slaughter-House and of the adjoining buildings has been converted into a beautiful "Memorial Garden," and two handsome monuments (see Appendix B) have subsequently been erected by Government over the wells containing the remains of the dead, *i. e.*, one near Wheeler's intrenchment, and the other near the assembly rooms; but it is much to be regretted that none of the trees that grew round about the Slaughter-House have been spared, as they would have served to indicate the exact site of that building.

This narrative is now concluded. It will, perhaps, not be out of place to mention further particulars regarding myself for the inform-

ation of my readers, some of whom may be sufficiently interested in my fate to feel a desire of knowing what became of me afterwards. These particulars will be found in the Appendix at the end of this book marked C ; but there yet remains something of vital importance to be entered in this narrative, which should have been done long ago ; and though the subject is one which requires ability such as I have not at command, yet it is a duty which cannot be shirked any longer, and as such, I take it up even at the risk of being considered a fanatic, or mad man. God only knows how my thoughts, and conscience, have troubled me on this subject these twenty-one years past, constantly reminding me that I had a work specially appointed me to do, which I *must* perform before I am called away.

The thoughts that have troubled me thus for so many long years, are such as the following : Was not there a special purpose for which Almighty God, in His great mercy, exerted His gracious Providence, so conspicuously, so signally, to bring me out of the dangers that beset me on all sides during those terrible times described in this narrative, and at last brought me out safely—one among a thousand ? Why ?—was there not clearly a purpose in this ? Can there be any doubt that it was the hand of God alone that separated me from my people just at the time when my stay with them would have sealed my fate for ever ? Had I been allowed to stay seven hours longer in the intrenchment on the 24th June, the arrival of Mrs. Jacobi with the Nana's offer, would undoubtedly have put a stop to my going out at all, and I should certainly have perished with the rest of the garrison. When I think of my miraculous preservation, I am filled with wonder and awe. The very circumstance of my having been taken a prisoner was the means of my preservation. Then, while in the hands of the rebels for twenty-three days, how wonderfully I was prevented from being brought to the notice of the chiefs ! Even to the last, when *our own* troops might have shot me unwittingly. The impulse that caused me to wave the cloth to the advance guard of Europeans, was most assuredly prompted by the same Gracious Providence, "without whose will not a sparrow can fall to the ground."

The conviction, then, that naturally arises in reflective minds is, that there was a purpose—a special purpose—in all that took place at Cawnpore during the forty days that Satan was permitted to employ the agency of wicked men to commit the deeds which no man, unaided by the devil, could have done. Hindoos, who would not take the life of a worm, had their hearts so hardened as to permit,—nay, even join, and glut in—the cruel murder of innocent babes and helpless women—women, too, whom under other circumstances they would not only respect and honor, but hold in the place of their gods ! God only knows why all this was permitted, and that, too,

when the rulers of India were proclaiming "peace, peace, all is peace in India!"—See Lord Dalhousie's minute on the annexation of Oudh in 1856.

Captains Thomson and Delafosse with the other two Europeans had certainly also a providential escape, but theirs was in the ordinary course of events, as under such circumstances some must get away. Not so with me. I was clearly put aside by the hand of God, and while in the power of the enemy, if nothing else, the "Nowgong Captain" (see page 109) would have had me killed. Why was Baba Bhutt called away in the midst of his official duties just at the very moment when my enemy's turn had arrived to be brought before the man, one shake of whose head was as good as an order to take away the life of a Christian, and the fellow was so well prepared to bring me to notice. I am fully convinced in my mind that I should not have lived another moment had the "Captain" been permitted to see Baba Bhutt, and which he would certainly have done had the Nana's messenger come five minutes later to call this individual. Now, did all these things happen without the guiding hand of God?—and, in doing so, had the Almighty no purpose? It cannot be otherwise; and if the thoughts that have for so many years troubled me on this subject, and how I have shrunk so long from acting upon the suggestions thus made from time to time, and do even now shrink, could be laid bare, it would then be understood, and right motives assigned me for now taking upon myself to add to this book all that follows under a separate heading. The most high God maketh known His will to mankind in various ways, and works out His gracious purposes by means which enter not into the calculation of men. Happy are they, who, while overlooking the insignificance of the instrument, earnestly ponder over, and are ready to do, whatever is brought home to their hearts and consciences as being the right thing.



ENGLAND'S GREAT MISSION
TO INDIA.

IN THREE PARTS.

ENGLAND'S GREAT MISSION TO INDIA.

PART I.

RETROSPECT.

(See Pages 100 and 161.)

FACTS are not wanting, from the state of things as they have existed ever since the British came to India, to the time of the great rebellion of the Indian Army in 1857, which proclaim most unmistakably that the Government has been ashamed of its religion in relation to the inhabitants of this empire.

Testimonies of the most reliable kind can be adduced in abundance on this subject ; and though it is not necessary here to enlarge much on these facts, yet a few quotations from the writings of eminent men are needed in illustration of the subject in hand. The highest ecclesiastical authority in India has said, in a little pamphlet entitled "A Sermon delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral, on Friday, July 24th, 1857, by Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan in India, dedicated to the Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, Governor-General of India :"

"India would seem too much to have been ruled in former
"times on the theory that God is not the Governor of the world ;
"but that Satan is the power whom it is wiser and safer to fear.
"It has long appeared to thoughtful persons, that one of the chief

“ sins of India is the CLOSE CONNECTION with the vices and idolatry
“ of Brahmanism, and the detestable licentiousness and bitter
“ hatred to Christianity of the followers of the false prophet. In
“ this opinion I concur. I am far from thinking that the causes
“ of the extraordinary insurrection now raging, are to be sought in
“ the conduct of the present age only. The Lord accumulates, as
“ it were, His wrath, or in mercy forbears His chastisements,
“ until at length they fall on one particular generation, which goes
“ on in some of the same sins, though possibly it may not in all
“ respects be so abandoned as some of their ancestors. We have
“ a hundred years of offences to answer for—those of Lord Clive,
“ and Warran Hastings, as well as of our rulers since.

“ I fear we have too much continued in the spirit, if not in
“ the acts of our fathers. Even in our own times, I remember
“ well the struggle of twenty long years under the great and emi-
“ nent WILBERFORCE, that was necessary to secure a free admission
“ of our Missionaries into India. I remember the cruel treatment
“ of Doctor and Mrs. Judson, whom I knew at Moulincin; the
“ forced resort of Dr. Carey and his pious companions to the Danish
“ settlement of Serampore; the prohibition to Dr. Buchanan to
“ publish his Sermons on the Prophecies; the disgraceful delay in
“ disconnecting Government with the pilgrimages to Juggernath;
“ and the salutes to idols and other ceremonies at Madras, which
“ compelled the brave and noble Sir Peregrine Maitland to resign.
“ Even my amiable and beloved friend and brother Bishop Corrie,
“ was rebuked by the Madras Government in 1836 for the mildest
“ exercise of what he considered his appropriate duty in expressing
“ his sympathy with Sir Peregrine on that occasion.

“ Further, in our Regulations both at Madras and in Bengal,
“ Hindoo and Mahommedan endowments were, and I fear are,
“ declared to be endowments ‘for pious and beneficial purposes,’
“ and were placed in the special charge of the Collectors of the
“ district, instead of being left to the Native priests to manage,
“ or rather mismanage, as they could; which would have gradually

“ extinguished them. Offerings in the name of Government at
“ famous shrines were presented; and by the pilgrim tax, the
“ duty of keeping up some of the shrines was allotted to our Chris-
“ tian authorities.

“ All this is going far beyond NON-INTERFERENCE—which is
“ right, and our duty. No force can ever be properly used in diffusing
“ Christianity; nor has it ever. But these Acts and Regulations
“ went to the discountenancing of Christianity, and the support of
“ the grossest idolatries and superstitions, which we now find have
“ imperiled our empire. Let it never be forgotten that the first
“ sepoy who was baptized by my late friend the Revd. Mr. Fisher,
“ Chaplain of Meerut, was on that account alone, and though
“ he was admitted to be a good soldier, dismissed the service!
“ This Mr. Fisher told me himself.

“ Thanks be to God many remedial measures have been passed
“ of late years, and are now being in preparation, but it is our duty
“ to examine the matter to the bottom, and remove all remaining
“ suspicions of our indifference to Christianity, and of our approba-
“ tion of the Native abominations. It is our duty to show on all
“ occasions our intense conviction *that Christianity is the only true*
“ *religion—in fact, the only religion in the world*—and that we adhere
“ to it with all our influence and strength; and surely the present
“ awful visitation for our sins is the proper moment for new and
“ decisive measures to be taken—to which I am sure our present
“ rulers will lend willing attention.”

“ Another grievous sin, too prevalent in British India, is
“ the profanation of the Lord’s Day. Much improvement has, thank
“ God, taken place of late years. In the time of Bishop Corrie, Dr.
“ Buchanan, and Henry Martyn, the Sunday was almost unknown.
“ And still, a right conception of the absolute duty of devoting the
“ whole day to public and private religious exercises, with rest from

ENGLAND'S GREAT

“ all labour (real works of necessity and mercy excepted) is not
“ generally entertained.”

“ Few comparatively *turn away their foot from the Sabbath, from
“ doing their pleasure on God's holy day, and call the Sabbath a
“ delight, holy of the Lord and honorable ; not doing their own ways,
“ nor finding their own pleasure, nor speaking their own words.*

“ Few consider, as they ought, the Fourth Commandment, as
“ equally binding with the second or fifth, or any of the other
“ precepts of the Decalogue.”

* * * * *

“ Who can think of the licentiousness, the open fornication,
“ the connection with native women under the fraudulent pretence
“ of marriage or otherwise, the increase of wretched European and
“ native prostitutes in Calcutta and elsewhere, without grief and
“ consternation ”

* * * * *

“ But there is a wider class of evils to be confessed and
“ forsaken, than any I have adverted to—the deadly slumber of
“ a practical infidelity ; the indifference to the immense blessings
“ of the Gospel of Christ ; * * *
“ our maintaining only a *negative* religion, instead of producing the
“ *positive* fruits of righteousness ; our enmity against God in His
“ spiritual character ; our dislike and even hatred of true vital
“ Christianity, and the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel ; our
“ unfaithfulness to our convictions ; our fear of the reproach of the
“ world if we become religious ; and our resting satisfied with the
“ slight amount of a superficial religious profession, if reputable in
“ the circle where we move.”

“ We should examine ourselves, whether we have under-
“ stood and preached as we ought, and as St. Paul and St. John in

“ their divine writings prescribe, the full and clear gospel of salvation by grace, and nothing else ; whether we have shunned, as a serpent, Satan’s snares laid for us ; whether we have avoided the errors so prevalent in the present day of Semi-Popery, and a pretended Rationalism—of over statements on external forms and ecclesiastical traditions on the one hand, and the evaporation of vital religion and of revelation itself by the sentimental follies of what is sometimes called Broad Church, on the other ?”

It has all along been the firm belief of godly men that the hand of God set up the British rule in India for His own wise and gracious purposes, and these purposes of God have been made manifest to earnest and pious men. In fact, God Himself raised up witnesses from time to time to remind and exhort the rulers of the land as to what His will was ; but no heed has ever been given to them,—nay, such men have been treated by the Government with an amount of severity almost bordering upon persecution, as history abundantly proves.

The manifest will of God, as declared by Himself, is, “ that all men should be saved,” and this salvation can be obtained only through faith in His word. His will cannot be known unless the Divine command be earnestly and faithfully carried out, *viz.*, “ Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel of peace to every creature.”

In order to make this practicable in India, Almighty God, “ who ruleth in the kingdoms of men and giveth it to whomsoever He will,” opened a way

for the British nation, and gradually, little by little, gave them dominion and power over the length and breadth of this extensive empire, in a way, and with a stability, that never was possessed by any other king or potentate before. Alas, the rulers of the land, forgetful of their great mission to India, entirely hid the glory of God from the knowledge of the inhabitants, and only sought honor and greatness for themselves.

The following extracts are given here in illustration of this point. They are from "A Memoir of Colonel Stephen Wheler, by Major Conran, of the Indian Army"—

If the domestic life of Britons was so questionable, equally disgraceful was their connection with the idolatrous customs of the native army. From the familiar fact of high-caste Brahmins and Mohammedans having been the favourite element for recruiting, the native regiments at the time of the Mutiny had become the very schools of the false prophet; and, under the patronage and influence of their nominally Christian officers, their saturnalia at the annual idolatrous festivals, continuing a month each, became a nuisance even to many of the native inhabitants, Government property of all kinds—tents, guns, ammunition, regimental bands and colours, etc., were all given for the occasion, the Christian bandsmen were ordered to attend, and not a few officers and ladies frequently helped to swell the procession, and add grandeur to the scene.

Military duties were on such occasions at a standstill, the regiments were in a state of utter disorganization, and the cantonment a perfect pandemonium. In such stations as possessed no church, chaplain, or other representative of religion, and where, perhaps, the entire influence emanated from some native female

favourite, all castes and outcasts, Hindoo, Mohammedan, and professing Christian, combined in one heterogeneous mob under the patronage of the representatives of the State.

It is doubtful if even these periodical out-bursts were so demoralizing as the more insidious but ever-present and all-pervading atmosphere of idolatry. Its effect may be estimated from the current opinion of European officers that Mohammedanism (which always took precedence of Hindooism) was more suitable than Christianity for the natives of India, and that the moral character of its professors equalled, or was superior to, that of Christians. With an amiable leaning towards native interests, everything connected with the habits and customs of the country (which were all interwoven and impregnated with idolatry), was zealously affected by some of our countrymen, who were thus gradually becoming denationalized. Nor could the natives doubt but that some of those who lived all their lives in India, and died there, were as genuine converts to Hindooism as the converts of our missionaries are to Christianity. No uncommon thing was it also for European professors of Christianity to withstand the native converts with the utmost virulence, on the ground that they were apostates from the faith of their fathers.

Another proof of the predominance of this anti-christian principle was manifested by scurrilous attacks on missionaries by the Indian press, or by Indian officers at home. The feeling of enmity to vital Christianity was equally visible in conversation, and in public and private intercourse. As for the hostility of most who exercised authority in regiments, or held a military command, their latent feelings were only kept in abeyance by the circumstance that missionary effort in the Upper Provinces of India was yet almost unknown. *The hatred manifested by the sepoy towards Christians during the Mutiny too well indicates how thoroughly they had shared these feelings with their quondam associates and guides.*

The well-known instance of the native soldier converted to

Christianity at Meerut (for such an event once happened !) shows how the military authorities "stamped out" all such things. He was brought before a military court, reported to the Government as a dangerous character, and removed from the regiment. The European convert, like his congener the native, soon found the place made too hot for him in a native regiment, and was glad of the earliest opportunity to leave the service.—Page 3—7.

* * * * *

The implication of our Indian Government in the idolatrous and false religions of the country was coming to a climax, and their servants, too, generally carried away by the overweening assumption of infallibility that began to mark public orders, went with the current, or submitted, and too often without protest, to what opposed their common sense and British feeling, if not their conscience. From the equivocal position our Government had assumed in their Afghanistan policy, pledged as the mercenaries of the Cabul Government, to sustain Mohammedanism of the most ultra spirit, they enforced on their officers the payment of any homage demanded by the superstitions of the country, whilst they were forbidden, on pain of dismissal from the force and being sent back to our provinces in disgrace, to give tracts or Scriptures, or to speak about Christianity. The Koran alone was to be honoured, the established religion alone acknowledged. The first flush of triumph in Cabul had intoxicated our rulers, and the spirit of intolerance amongst those in power required all the dauntless faith of a Havelock, and his little band of like spirits, to resist. Blessed be God, they did resist, and even at Cabul established a public profession of Christianity and religious fellowship, and were honoured of God in upholding the faith of many of his dear children, if not of converting some of the unbelieving to God. Solemn and deep as are the judgments of Jehovah, it were stone blindness not to remark that those thus branded as fools for Christ's sake were brought through the terrible catastrophe which demolished the vaunted enterprise of the Government, not only with safety, but by a career of heroism and victory which attracted the admiration of all Europe.

It was whilst this noble stand was being made at Cabul by our European soldiers, that Wheler was called to do the same in the midst of the native army. It was to be expected that the usual course adopted by him, an officer of standing (then commanding the 34th Regiment), that of going out to preach in the markets,—as well as the unusual interest excited amongst the sepoys, his most attentive hearers,—would not pass without public notice in a community by no means remarkable for godliness. Wheler's faithfulness in personally addressing all who came within his reach, regarding their souls, made him highly unpopular with officers and persons in their station of life ; his standing aloof from the dissipation and worldly parties of the station increased these feelings ; but what brought the opposition to fever-heat of fury, was a matter affecting the connivance of officers personally, in accordance with the understood wishes of the Government, at the idolatrous practices of the sepoys. On occasion of one of the native idolatrous festivals, when Mohammedan, Hindoo, and Christian, all fraternized in grand processions and revelry, the native officers of the 34th Regiment N. I. came to Wheler according to custom, to obtain his sanction for their using the regimental band, colours, tents, ammunition, etc., for their ceremonies. Wheler kindly but firmly remonstrated with them on the wickedness of the whole affair, but especially on the utter impossibility of him, a Christian officer, who had constantly condemned such practices, now giving countenance to them. The change from invariable precedent roused great hostility against him on the part of the officers of the native regiments, and other of his countrymen destitute of religion (to say nothing of some weak brethren). As regarded the sepoys, they expressed themselves quite satisfied, and only admired Wheler the more for his consistency ; nor did they renew their application either then or on any subsequent anniversary.

The *Christian* officers never forgave him this exposure of their irreligion, and thus the opposition to Wheler reached head-quarters. The war first commenced with anonymous attacks by the Calcutta

press, in which *The Friend of India* stood alone, as usual, in defence of Wheler, and in the cause of truth and right. His religious efforts were denounced as a crusade against the religion of the native, and all the threadbare sophistries of Scott Waring and Sidney Smith were raked up afresh by this unholy confederacy. The battle fought by Macaulay, Wilberforce, Grant, and others, in Parliament, to obtain an ecclesiastic recognition for their countrymen in India, was to be fought in Agra to secure those countrymen liberty of conscience in their daily avocations amidst the natives of the land.

In consequence of the notoriety thus procured for Wheler, the Government could not but institute inquiries regarding his proceedings, and the persons "consorting with him," and in due course he received an official communication through "Jas. Thomason, Secretary," from "Mr. Robertson, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west Provinces," requesting an explanation for the information of the Government as to the extent to which Wheler "carried his interference with the religious habits of the sepoys, and who were his accomplices, and to what extent they had succeeded in their efforts," etc. The Governor and his secretary were too religious, not to say enlightened, in their character to permit themselves to be made tools of by popular outcry, in which the whole affair originated, and after a friendly personal interview between Wheler and Thomason, the result was that the former wrote an explanation of his conduct and principles, such as in the times of Tertullian and Trypho, or later of Luther, would have been entitled an Apology for Christianity! At the same time he boldly asserted his liberty and determination to preach the gospel whensoever and wheresoever his judgment determined; that whilst he acknowledged his duty in earthly matters to the Government, and would faithfully "render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's," he felt equally bound to render unto God the things that were God's. Thus ended this affair of outposts in Wheler's favour, for he continued his usual course, excepting that he so far yielded to the wishes of the authorities as

to promise not to preach at all within the lines of the native regiments, nor anywhere else in his regimental uniform.—Page 48-52.

* * * * *

At Moradabad Wheler continued to make known the gospel. He had been superseded in the command of the 34th Regiment, probably a mark of displeasure for his opposition to the wishes of Government in regard to his preaching to the natives. The new commanding officer was a celebrated martinet, chosen, perhaps, to neutralize Wheler's influence. They got on, however, so amicably that Colonel——lived with Wheler, and it was remarked how much influenced he became by the latter's example.—Page 58.

* * * * *

The Bishop (Daniel Wilson) used to say, "If every one of his countrymen was like Colonel Wheler, he would have ten thousand missionaries." Yes, and if every regiment had possessed such a commanding officer there would never have been a mutiny of the Bengal native army.

Had Wheler's evangelizing efforts amongst the sepoys not been thwarted by his supersession from the command of the 34th, and had the full weight of the Government's influence not been exercised to neutralize his Christian efforts, that regiment at least would have been a bulwark of loyalty still, and might have contributed to turn the scale in the approaching crisis. Might we presume to scan this "frowning providence" to find "a smiling face," we would suggest that thus only could these poor heathen, halting between two opinions—of the gospel proclaimed by Wheler, and the carnal policy of the Government with all their imposing prestige—escape the coming catastrophe now inevitable, and avoid the course of fearful crime awaiting the native army.—Page 65.

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Well had it been for India had Wheler's preaching been effectual for the gracious purpose designed, for surely such a striking message had never before so manifestly appealed to men

throughout our Eastern Empire in God's behalf as did that document in which, answering the inquiries of the Government concerning his preaching to the sepoy, Wheler asserted his duty in this matter. If, as when the King of Nineveh arose from his throne when the word came to him, Lord Canning had caused it to be proclaimed through India, and Wheler's counsel had been acceptable, to "break off their sins by righteousness and their iniquities by showing mercy to the poor, it might have been a lengthening of their tranquillity." Instead of this, the whole community (of course with exceptions like the *Friend of India*) rebelled yet more against God and against his servant, and especially the press, "lifting up their voice and saying, away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live." Nineveh repented at the preaching of Jonah, and India did not.

"And yet forty days and Nineveh was destroyed." The émeute of the 34th was on the 29th of March, coincident with the popular outery in Calcutta, and the "Governor-General's" denunciation of Wheler for preaching; and on the 10th and 11th of May the Mutiny took effect in the surprise of Delhi with its royal family, grand magazines, and ancient prestige. . . . Every military station out of Bengal and Behar between Peshawur and Patna, had revolted in that space of time, culminating with the tragedy at Cawnpore.

So surely as the Bengal Government publicly ignored the first principles of Christianity and British liberty, "forbidding to speak to the Gentile that they might be saved, to fill up their sin always," so did God publicly ignore their authority, which from that time virtually ceased throughout the greater portion of that Presidency; and by a striking providence it was delegated to others, who girded up their loins for the fight, and after reinstating order and confirming loyalty in their own provinces, volunteered and effected the deliverance of the beleaguered garrisons by capturing Delhi and co-operating towards the relief of Lucknow.

"Them that honour Me, I will honour." It was not until a

reaction from traditional policy had been inaugurated by the Government in Bengal, and God-fearing men were at the head of the avengers, that God restored victory to our arms. Before this the Government had to offer up in sacrifice the chief authors of the ungodly conspiracy against Wheler and Christianity.

Blessed be God, even at this period there were more than "fifty righteous" found there, and well for India that it was so. Doubtless their intercessions, when thus awakened under God's judgments, prevailed. "Their work and labour of love which they showed towards his name" in ministering so abundantly to the poor victims of the Mutiny, testified to the wholesome result of their heavenly Father's loving chastisement. "When the angel stretched out his hand upon Jerusalem to destroy it, the Lord repented Him of the evil."—Page 121—124.

Colonel Wheler was made a great blessing to poor soldiers in the time of sickness and death. His labours amongst British soldiers were not without much difficulty and opposition. Clergymen and officers have tried to frustrate his efforts. A clergyman once complained to the Colonel of the——Regiment stating that he hoped that he would prevent Colonel Wheler from visiting his men. I had an interview with this Colonel respecting this matter, and I said I hoped he would not interfere with the labours of Colonel Wheler. He replied, "I shall; I will not have him near my men." "Well," said I, "you must take the consequence; remember that he is doing the work of God, and if a punishment is sent by the Almighty for your so doing, I shall not be surprised." "Well," said he, "I will risk that." This Colonel was soon removed from his post. How clergymen could seek to prevent so good a work, I am at a loss to know, and the more so when we remember that Colonel Wheler was a true member of the Church of England.

I have known, on two or three occasions, where Colonels have interfered with his work, that the sentries have presented bayonets

to him; and when he has asked the reason for so doing, they have said, "The Colonel's order is that you must not enter the hospitals or barracks;" and on one visit to the hospital he was dragged out by the neck and arms at the request of the Colonel. He never resisted, but calmly left the matter in the hands of his Master; and when driven from one station he would travel ten or twenty miles to another, where he thought he would not be interfered with.

After I had been living a few days with him, I was anxious to know his views respecting the cause of the Mutiny. One day, in reply to my question, he said, "I consider it a punishment from the Almighty for our unfaithfulness in this country: the sins of drunkenness, covetousness, etc., have been common evils amongst English people in this land. Again, I consider that God gave England this empire that she might spread the principles of Christianity, not by main force, but by the simple preaching of the gospel and holy living; this has not been done to the extent it ought to have been, therefore we need not wonder at this Mutiny coming upon us like a thunder-clap. It is not to be ascribed to any particular man; it is the sins of *all* Englishmen which have brought this upon us. Some have said that it is the preaching of the gospel amongst the sepoys which has unsettled their minds, and produced the Mutiny. I do not believe this: I would rather say that it is because we have not had more preaching amongst them. During my past experience, I have always found the people willing to listen to gospel truths when kindly brought before them, and they have and will always respect good men. There are exceptions to the rule, but in very few cases have I found them."

The cause of his being put upon the list of half-pay officers, I believe, was never communicated to him. Indirectly, it was said that it was because he preached too much amongst the people. I have conversed with great numbers of officers who have been under his authority, and all to a man have said to me that they never saw a better military officer than Major-General Wheler. He was always

at his post, and everything he did was done with military firmness : the men generally highly respected him. He would not compromise his principles for any one, and whilst he always tried to do his duty to his Queen and country, he considered that his duty to God must be his chief concern."—Pages 161—165.

Thus it is clear that the Christian Government whom God had so highly honored in India, did not in return seek the honor and glory of God, and, having little or no trust in his Almighty power, they sought for safety and stability under the policy of conciliating the Indian Army by taking part in all their shameful practices, and without reserve—nay, under the highest sanction—mingling themselves with the vices and idolatry of the heathen. Under the groundless apprehension that as their vast possessions in India were *guarded* by the Native Army, composed entirely of high cast Hindoos and Mahomedans, it would be offensive to them to be brought to a clear knowledge of the Christian religion, or to see any particular manifestation of the claims of that religion exhibited in the lives and conduct of the rulers of the land. Hence the prevailing order of the day, and the earnest care of the Government was "not to preach the Gospel of Christ to men in the Army ;" any attempt on the part of a godly man to do so was visited with marks of the highest displeasure from all in authority.

The result of this policy of Government, as might have been expected, was to keep the people grossly ignorant of the nature and requirements of the Chris-

tian religion, hence their persuasion that the Government had designs upon their religion. This notion, though perfectly groundless, was taken advantage of by the designing Mahomedans and worked up by them to such a degree, that, in course of time, no doubt was left in the minds of the Hindoos that the time had come when the British Government would have recourse to force and compel them and all India to become Christians. The Province of Oudh, that great nursery and home of the flower of the Indian Army, having been annexed to the Government, all chance of resistance would seem to be at an end.

Two causes helped to give colour and permanence to this most absurd and groundless belief, and they were very gigantic ones in themselves.

1st.—Perfect ignorance of the tenets of the Christian religion.

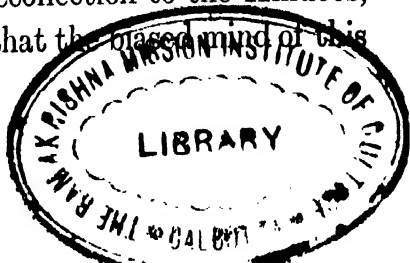
2nd.—Painful recollection and experience of what the Mahomedans had done in the name of God and religion to the Hindoo population during the period of their Government in India.

With reference to the first of these causes very little remains to be said. Had the Bible been permitted to be preached extensively in all parts of the British possessions, and its principles carefully explained to the native army at large, with the clear understand-

ing that its precepts, unlike the Mahomedan religion, did not authorize the employment of any coercive measures to make proselytes;—had Government authorized, nay, introduced text-books containing in concise and clear terms all the fundamental doctrines and gracious purposes as revealed to mankind by God, and caused these books to become standards for all Government schools and colleges, it is clear that all classes of people in India would have been so far enlightened in regard to the Christian religion, as to know how to avoid being deceived by the misrepresentations of the Mahomedans that the British nation wished to take away the caste of the Hindoos by force.

The other cause may be briefly stated thus. When the Mahomedans held sway over India, in accordance with the express command of their religion, as contained in the Koran, they lost no time to inculcate in right earnest their own faith, and unhesitatingly set about, by force of arms and with the edge of the sword, to make proselytes of Hindoos and others without the least regard for their feelings; thousands of the descendants of these proselytes are at this day to be found in all parts of India, who follow the rites and ceremonies, and join in all the festivities of both the Hindoos and Mahomedans.

These facts having become a matter of history, and the subject of painful recollection to the Hindoos, it is not to be wondered at that the biased mind of this



ignorant people readily allowed itself to be led away into the belief above stated. Bishop Daniel Wilson, in the Sermon quoted above, states :—

“ Our case in British India is no doubt most peculiar. I can
 “ recal no part of history in modern times which resembles it. The
 “ civil wars in England two centuries ago, and the horrors of the
 “ first French Revolution, which I myself remember, were quite
 “ of a different character.

“ The pillars of our power in India have been, and are shaken.
 “ Thirty millions of ruthless Mussalmans have been engaged in a
 “ conspiracy, and been working on the feeble minds of one hundred
 “ and fifty millions of Hindoos for a number of years, and have at
 “ last broken out into open rebellion against the comparatively
 “ inconsiderable number of the Europeans. Murders and atrocities
 “ unheard of in civilized warfare have been perpetrated by a
 “ savage and brutal Native soldiery. House-breakers and criminals
 “ of every class have been let loose by thousands upon thousands
 “ from our jails, to pillage and destroy the peaceable inhabitants
 “ of our towns and villages. *The high-ways of the Mofussil have*
 “ *been, and are, unoccupied, and our travellers walk through bye-ways.*
 “ The minister of religion, the tender female, the child hanging on
 “ the breast, have been butchered with unparalleled cruelty. Many
 “ *of our holy and beautiful houses where we praised God, have been burned*
 “ *up with fire, and all our pleasant places have been laid waste.* Un-
 “ numbered families at home and in this country have been plunged
 “ into grief almost inconsolable, for the sudden loss of husbands,
 “ wives and children, who have been cut down. The lawful pur-
 “ suits of commerce and agriculture have been paralysed. Poverty
 “ and destitution stare multitudes in the face. We know not yet,
 “ and never shall know, a hundredth part of the miseries and horrors
 “ which are taking place ; but the incidental letters we receive are
 “ utterly heart-rending. Still there is HOPE in the *everlasting God,*
 “ if we truly humble ourselves before Him, and repent of our sins.”

The Lord Almighty speaks through his Prophet Jeremiah :—

“Hath a nation changed their gods, which are yet no gods? but my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit. Be astonished, O ye heavens, at this, and be horribly afraid; be ye very desolate, saith the Lord, for my people have committed two evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.”

Should the Lord say, I gave my Holy Law, the Bible, to England and ye became a Christian nation, a chosen people, peculiarly my own people, blessed of the Lord. I then sent you out to India to do my work among the heathen; a handful of you, by my power, possessed yourselves of a vast country, and ye have sought out your own glory and pride. Ye have made my Gospel to be a despised Book among the people, and my holy name to be dishonored in their sight by your conduct and life. Your great influence and example could have made my religion both attractive and honorable in the eyes of this benighted people, and would have led them to hear my voice and come to me. By this means ye would have fulfilled the great mission on which I sent you to India, and thus my holy name would have been glorified and magnified in the face of all the earth. But ye have forgotten your high calling, and not only left undone what ye should have done, but have actually ignored and disclaimed my religion and de-

based yourselves to the level of the heathen themselves.

"Give an account of thy stewardship."

How hast thou helped my cause ? What aid hast thou afforded to my poor servants who, from time to time, have laboured in my field ? How hast thou cared for the poor of my flock—the converts who have left their all to follow me ? Missionary enterprize apart—hast thou done any thing directly to honor and diffuse the Christian religion ? And the Lord said—

"Thou mayest be no longer steward."

In a moment the Honorable East India Company fell, and became extinct in India. This was the Lord's doing—the wrath of God was kindled, and He consumed the Government and their pampered army together.

"Alas ! we were warned, but we recked not the warning,
Till our warriors grew weak in the day of despair ;
And our glory was fled, as the light-cloud of morning
That gleams for a moment, and melts into air.
As the proud heathens tramped o'er Zion's sad daughter,
She wept tears of blood o'er her guilt and her woe,
For the voice of her God had commissioned the slaughter—
The rod of his vengeance had pointed the blow."

REV. THOMAS DALE.

PART II.

IN REGARD TO THE PRESENT AND FUTURE.

GOD, in His glorious and most wonderful Providence, has restored this land, and re-established the authority and rule of a Christian nation on a more firm and sure basis, and has placed the Government and authority under the direct control of His highly-favored and most blessed servant, Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. Seeing that it is the good will and pleasure of Almighty God that India should still continue under the dominion and guidance of Great Britain, it is clearly her duty to strive to fulfil God's will by every right and practicable means possible.

That the Government of the Hon'ble East India Company signally failed in, or rather ignored, this their duty, has been abundantly proved. Their manifest plea—the fear of offending their native army—how strangely realized. Heedless of the warning voice of JEHOVAH, they persisted in provoking His anger, until they were made to drink from the cup of His wrath—having “sown to the wind,” they “reaped the whirlwind.” Upwards of 50,000 of their well-trained native soldiery—nursed, so to speak, in the bosom of the Company—showed their rage, and in the name of religion, without even a semblance of cause,

broke out in open rebellion, and turned their arms upon their benefactors. Both the Company and their pampered native army were whirled away by the blast, and are now numbered with the things of the past. Thousands of Hindoos and Mahomedans, immediately after the suppression of the Mutiny, in 1858 and 1859, struck with awe at the wonderful doings of God, were willing, of their own accord, to seek after and to acknowledge the God of the Christian; but, alas! by the conduct of the Christians themselves, and seeing the low estimation in which this religion was held by the rulers too, they soon after, with but few exceptions, gave up all idea of renouncing the idolatrous faith of their forefathers.

That the whole of this vast Peninsula will ultimately come to CHRIST is the firm belief and expectation of very many earnest Christians both here and in England; and it is also believed that this will not be effected by foreign agency, nor by the powers of the rulers of the land. The LORD HIMSELF will do this great work, for by His Spirit alone are dead souls raised to life and stony hearts softened. Men of this very land will be raised up, in due course, by the Spirit of God, and, being called to the work in the power and might of JESUS CHRIST, will go forth labouring, after the manner of Paul and the other great apostles, among the Gentiles, and by God's help will build up churches, such as will accord with the word of

God, and be more suited to the times as well as to the circumstances of the people themselves. This will be the work of God Himself; and the time must soon come when the inhabitants of this land will astonish all other nations in their devotion to GOD IN CHRIST, because their habits of living are so well adapted to serve God in a simple and unaffected manner; and the less they imitate European customs and ways, which is not at all suited for India, the better will they be able to contribute to their own comfort as well as to the glory of God.

But, is the Government of the land—the chosen servants of the Most High, whom the Lord has set up here, and into whose hands He has entrusted this great empire—in the meantime simply to look on and pursue its own course as usual? Is there no *clearly* defined duty—no call to work *directly* to bring about the gracious purposes of God? The obvious course for the Government, to which attention is here earnestly invited, is—

1st,—TO GLORIFY GOD'S NAME

in the face of this their vast possessions, by a consistent and godly life among their European servants holding authority in the administration of the country, whose selection should be scrupulously guided by the proof of a well-grounded belief in the Christian religion, being “able men, such as *fear God*, men of *truth*, hating covetousness.” (EXODUS XVIII. 21.)

2nd,—TO FIRST SEEK THE KINGDOM OF GOD

for India before all other considerations whatever. This can only be done when the leading men of Government have the fear of God in their hearts; then alone the dread of ridicule from scoffers and wordlings will not deter them from setting a good example to all around, and doing that which is commanded by the word of God to be the rule of their conduct.

3rd,—TO FEED THE LAMBS OF CHRIST

and tend the sheep that are, as it were, without a shepherd. The question emphatically is, “What shall be done to carry out the *WILL of God, i. e., that all men should be saved from everlasting destruction?*” God will, and does Himself, point out the way, and leads all who seek to be guided by His will and are ready to take proper steps to perform their duty conscientiously and heartily.

Now, the Lord delights to call the Christian people “His people,” and they *are* His peculiar people, purchased with a price—even the precious blood of CHRIST. Under the Mosaic dispensation, God Himself was the Governor of his chosen people, and as their possessions were gifts bestowed directly from Him, they were required to consecrate a tithe of all their possessions to Him. Here in India, the British Government is the sole possessor of all lands, and as the nations are heathen, it is not the people but the

Government who is called upon to consecrate, if not a tithe, certainly a fraction of all their possessions for the purpose of carrying out the command, "FEED MY LAMBS." It is clear that a heathen Government cannot do this work, and therefore God, in His infinite wisdom, has set up a Christian Government over this empire, and has favored its arms with the most astonishing successes in order to open a way that the message He has graciously prepared for this vast country may be conveyed to all its inhabitants.

Have not the Government of the Empress of India had the full use of all its income here for twenty-one years, while God has granted peace and prosperity? Has any portion of the same ever been *expressly* employed for the purpose of bringing the WATER OF LIFE to the people? In this God's forbearance has been great.

Every nation and every kingdom on the face of the earth since the world began has used the revenues of the land for purposes of honoring its own religion. Here in India, have not the Hindoos—have not the Mahomedans—done the same? and yet these are the very people to raise grave objections, and are foremost in urging that the British Government should not apply any portion of such revenues for religious purposes; and when this their desire is complied with, they are the first to laugh at, and ridicule the Government for yielding to their wishes.

When a heathen man receives the word of God in his heart, is enlightened, and accepts JESUS CHRIST as his Saviour, he at once becomes an alien and out-cast among his people and country, whose doors are shut against him *for ever!* If he is a poor man, his case is one of real pity. Loathed and hated by the community in which he once moved—despised by the nominal Christians—wherever he turns he is abused. He feels dejected and cast down; but having counted the cost, he has faith and strength given him to struggle along with all his trials and troubles. The Missionary and the Mission-House are now his only refuge in a worldly point of view; but as the means at command there are very limited, he has to bear up with hardships and privations such as perhaps only a converted man can endure. Other seekers, who are in earnest, when they see how their poor friends have to struggle and suffer, are deterred from joining the church, and thus God's name and His holy religion are brought into contempt before the people at large, and the general impression is that the Christian religion is held at a *discount by the Government*. "*Behold,*" they say "*the sheep without a shepherd!*" Hundreds of earnest seekers after salvation are thus held back by this one consideration, that when they leave home they have no place of refuge or means of subsistence, and it is for such that provision is absolutely necessary. Care must, of course, be taken to guard against impostors; but everywhere tares will always be found among the wheat. Has it not been so since the world began?

It is, therefore, for the rulers of the land and the Christian *nation* connected with India, to devise plans by which this may be remedied, and more especially to remove as far as possible **the feeling of contempt for Christianity which so universally prevails in the minds of natives in all parts of India.** In this latter respect the Government can do much, since the cause of it can justly be laid, with a few exceptions, at the door of the rulers and the Christian (nominal) body themselves.

Missionary enterprise has done, can do, and is doing a vast amount of good in the country, and might also be greatly helped by large grants from Government to enable them to open branches of their Mission at and near villages in the interior of remote districts. Encouragement being given according to the respective labours and zeal in the good cause of each, and especially to the body, or denomination, of Protestant Christians whose plans of operation are more systematic, and upon whose labours greater success is vouchsafed from above, "for by their fruits all are known."

Another mode of working for God in which the Government could engage would be the establishing of Christian villages (if Government would purchase them as opportunity occurred) at and near large stations. This would be very desirable, as enabling the poor and homeless converts to obtain a living by working in them on favorable terms. Villages of this

kind would do much good if countenanced by Government, having for their object the shelter and maintenance of all who may have forfeited the support of their kindred and friends by electing to become the disciples of the LORD JESUS CHRIST. Such villages would need to be placed under the control and management of well-tried, God-fearing men, irrespective of sect, denomination, or nationality—men whose hearts are wholly given to His great cause, and whose whole purpose of life is to seek first the glory of God and the salvation of souls; who will take a delight in training their native brethren for the glorious work of the ministry. Men of this description are being raised up by the Lord Himself in all parts of the world, especially in England and America, and will be found, when called to the field appointed for them, to do all things to the glory of their Great Master. The converts being encouraged to follow up the trade or calling to which they have been trained, this would bring them contentment and happiness; no change would be necessary or permitted in regard to their original mode of dress, living, &c; care being taken to aim at heart religion with simplicity of life. In fact, a properly-regulated body of native Christians, free from all those ruinous habits of living which the majority of native Christians at present follow in imitation of the Europeans, would be at once “like a city that is set on a high hill which cannot be hid,” and would give a correct idea of what the life of a

native Christian community ought to be. Up to the present time, though the English have been in India for more than a hundred years, the general impression among villagers and other unenlightened natives, who are by far the largest body of the inhabitants of India, is, that Christianity consists simply in indulging in spirituous liquors, and eating the flesh of cows and swine,—the one being considered highly sacred by all Hindoos, and the other held in the greatest abhorrence by most of the natives as being the dirtiest and filthiest animal in India, and they believe that if a man can do this, as well as change the style of his dress a little, he may fairly be classed among the Christians. It is sad to reflect that so high and holy a religion, which is also the recognised religion of the rulers of the land, should be considered by the majority of the people here to consist in the mere act of eating and drinking such things; which, from *their* stand point, is highly degrading. For the continuance of so much ignorance among the natives, the rulers of the land are in great measure accountable to God.

While the State administers its laws to the country in secular matters, the affairs of the Church of CHRIST, untrammelled by political restrictions, are under the guidance of the Spirit of faith, to be administered by faithful Protestant Christian men, both native and foreign, without distinction as to sect or denomination, to be held responsible to, and under the protection and support, of the Government.

As regards sect and denomination. The Christian body in the whole world may be likened to the several streams which flow into the sea and become one there; or to the army of a king—should an infantry soldier be so fortunate as to obtain a footing in the Horse Guards, or become a member of the King's Body Guard, will he be held as having become a "turncoat" or untrue to his calling? Even thus all CHRIST's soldiers are to be considered, so long as they serve and acknowledge the LORD JESUS CHRIST as the *only* Saviour of mankind, without dividing his Mediatorship with saints or other creatures of God. Whatever be the mode of worship or church discipline of each, if they agree in the fundamental doctrines of the Bible, they are the true and acknowledged servants of one and the same Lord and Master, and are by no means to be despised by the State, or any other church on earth, seeing how they are honored by God Himself, and what vast amount of good they are enabled to do; such being a direct proof that they are the stewards, specially appointed (not by men) to do God's work in India.

Ministers and Priests of the old school, as well as the great Bishops and clergy hitherto appointed over India, may still be held simply as forming part and portion of the "State requirements;" for it will be quite evident, upon a little consideration with reference to the action and want of success of the past one hundred and twenty years, that this style of

Divines are not the men by whom God designs to work out the salvation of his creatures in India.

Now let the British Government, whose greatness is so beautifully, emphatically, and in all honesty declared by Britain's blessed and glorious Sovereign—Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria—"as being solely attributable to the Christian's Bible," be decided, and fully purposed to honor the God of that Bible in the sight of all people in India as far as it lies in its power, and blessings a hundredfold more than hitherto bestowed shall be poured down from Heaven. Conscientious and recognized Christian rulers, expressly selected and sent out in greater numbers to countervail the influence of "ungodly Christian" men, would at once change the aspect of the administration, and by their consistent and faithful acts, cause all discontent, apprehension, and want of faith in the Government to disappear.

In this there is nothing that may be construed into acting in opposition to, or being contrary to the sentiments contained in Her Majesty's gracious proclamation of 1858. Therein it is fully declared that the Sovereign herself is wholly attached to the Christian faith; and it is but reasonable that her Government shall at all times and in all places seek to magnify the same. While in full accord with the Sovereign's gracious proclamation, the nations under her, on the one hand, shall be duly cared for

and protected, and be at perfect liberty to follow their own respective religions and professions unmolested ; the Government, on the other hand, too, will make it its special duty that the Christian religion is held in respect and is made to shine among the people, “ that they seeing their good works may glorify the God and father of all mankind.”

Another royal proclamation would appear to be absolutely necessary, which, while upholding and confirming the previous one of 1858, should concisely but clearly define the nature and purpose of the Christian religion ; and, finally, it should declare that the wide-spread preaching of the Bible is the *express* command of God, which the Christian nation is *bound* to do, and *is* doing, all throughout the world, and *now especially in India*, having translated the BIBLE, *which is the true word of God*, into every known language ; and that millions of people in other parts of the world have read and accepted the truths contained in it. That the said command is on no account to be carried out by force or violence, but that it has for its object the desire of applying truth to the conscience of sinners, and that none are required or compelled to accept of the invitation contained in it but such only as feel convinced in their minds that its teachings are true, and that the acceptance of the same will lead them to life everlasting. All who do so must clearly understand that they are not to expect any wordly benefit or aggrandizement from it ; that only in certain cases

help will be given to poor people to enable them to earn a livelihood by the labours of their own hands. A fresh proclamation of this nature at this time would have the effect of removing many wrong notions from the minds of the people, and those who from utter ignorance at present are sadly open to be misled by the designing, and the mischief-makers would no longer be in danger of mistrusting the designs of Government in regard to them or their religion.

In Bishop Wilson's sermon, before quoted, are found these words in connection with those who have the rule and government of India :—

“ But there is a wider class of evils to be confessed and forsaken, than any I have as yet adverted to—the deadly slumber of a practical infidelity ; the indifference to the immense blessings of the Gospel of Christ.” * * * * * “ Our maintaining only a *negative* religion, instead of producing the *positive* fruits of righteousness. Our enmity against God in his scriptural character, our dislike and even hatred of true and vital Christianity and the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel. Our unfaithfulness to our conviction, our fear of the reproach of the world if we become religious, and our resting satisfied with the slight amount of a superficial religious profession *if reputable* in the circle where we move.” * * * “ Who can consider the load of sin daily accumulated by the evil passions of men, though their life be decent outwardly.”

Twenty-one years have passed away since the above sermon was preached, printed and published in pamphlet form, and specially dedicated to the Governor-General of India. Whatever effect the earn-

est and affectionate exhortation of that holy man of God may have had in the better government of the people, and especially in reforming the lives of nominal Christians in India, it is for God in heaven, and for men of discernment, to judge.

Among others, one portion of the sermon stands out in relief, and that is, "If ten righteous men would have led to the salvation of Sodom we may hope that the thousands of sincere Christians in India may lead the Lord to spare us also." God has spared India for his own glory, in order to bring to pass the purpose for which he has given this empire to be under the control of Great Britain, so that "the people which sit in darkness may see a great light; and to them which sit in the region of the shadow of death light may spring up."

But some people will boastingly say that it was English indomitable pluck, before which no other nation can stand, which gave us back our Indian possession. Probably so; but who is the maker of men, and dispenser of courage, wisdom, success, &c., to them? When God favors any particular nation or people with peculiar blessings, is it not done solely for the purpose of carrying out His own design and will? Where is there then cause for boasting? The "Chaldeans of old were ordained and set up by God to execute His judgment upon the children of Israel," and the prophet (in the text from which Bishop

Wilson's sermon is taken, *i. e.* Habakkuk i. 12) cries out : " O Lord Thou hast ordained them for judgment, and O mighty God Thou hast established them for correction." So God in His providence has ordained the British nation to do his work for him in India. Even should the Government still continue to ignore its responsibility and obligations in directly carrying out God's manifest purpose ; yet under its protection the gracious message of God's salvation through *other* agencies " will have free course and be glorified." For He who has declared that "*the Gospel must first be published among all nations,*" is also able to bring about the accomplishment of the same by whomsoever He may appoint.

A strange opinion prevails that the rulers of the land cannot well engage in religious works ! This may or may not be correct ; but one thing is quite clear, namely, that the Government represents the father of a family, who, if he favors one member more than the rest, that member becomes peculiarly an object of attention by all. The same is the case with the head of an office ; the favorite man is held in respect by his companions. Even so the Government, being essentially a Christian Government, is required to magnify and exalt the religion it professes to belong to, especially in a land like India, where people, from their own stand-point of view, are always alive to discern such matters ; and when they see a godless ruler, whom educated Hindoos and others taking to

be a type of the Christian religion, carefully watch and observe his private and public life (the private life of a Government official is better observed by natives through the menial servants in his employ than even by his next door neighbour or most intimate friend), they are led to despise not only the religion which he is believed to profess, but also feel contempt for a nation which produces such irreligious and "ungodly Christians." Thus God's name is directly dishonoured by the paid servants of the State. It is too well known that there are hundreds of such men among the Civilians, the Military, and, sad to say, among the Teachers and Professors in schools and colleges, who seem to feel no "compunctuous visitings."

The consequence is that people cannot feel that confidence which they would naturally do if they saw a man true to his religion and creed. God's name instead of being glorified is dishonored by men, who, while *being* called Christians have not a particle of Christianity in them; rather they are the avowed *enemies* of true Christians, calling them enthusiasts and what not, and holding them up to ridicule. And yet these very men would feel greatly offended if denied the appellation of Christian. From their standpoint it would appear that India is given to Great Britain simply to enable a host of foreigners to enjoy themselves—to eat, drink, and possess themselves of whatever falls to their lot—then retire to their distant

homes and think no more of the country where they have been treated as lords and gods. But let them remember that "the Lord slumbers not." He beholds the works of his stewards, and will reward them accordingly.

Oh! that Christians in India, and especially those in authority, did but consider and resolve to do the things that are right, that they may not be charged by the Living God with heaping up guilt upon a nation which should have been benefited by their presence. The command of the Lord to all who bear His name is—"Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your father which is in heaven;" and it is the imperative duty of all to strive to obtain light wherewithal to be able to lighten the darkness round about them. Oh! that all were to strive to do this! How greatly would the rule of the British be magnified, for all would walk in the fear and love of God, and hold the people around them in the bond of brotherhood (as all mankind in reality are), and this would draw out the affection of the natives. They would thus be enabled to compare the Christian religion with that of their own, and would be ready to follow that which is good, and God's purpose would thus be fulfilled.

"That servant who knew his Lord's will and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will shall be beaten with many more stripes."

The record of God's judgments on earth are in a special manner placed in the hands of the British nation, and consequently the responsibility of that nation to God is very great.

"For unto whomsoever much is given of him shall be much required."

The words of the Prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel may be borne in mind by such as run down those who are striving to lead godly lives :

"Wherefore hear the word of the Lord, ye scornful men that rule the people." * * * "They shall teach my people the difference between the holy and profane, and cause them to discern between the unclean and clean."

How awful are God's judgments as recorded by the Prophets of old, and these records are given in mercy as a warning to all, especially to those whom the Lord has favored with wisdom and knowledge, and set up as rulers and guides of others less favored than themselves. In connection with the late Government of the Hon'ble East India Company, and that of the present Government of India, it might be very profitable to ponder over the following incident as related in Daniel v. 17-28 :—

"Then Daniel answered and said before the king, Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another ; yet I will read the writing unto the king, and make known to him the interpretation. O thou king, the most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar

thy father a kingdom, and majesty, and glory, and honour: And for the majesty that he gave him, all people, nations, and languages, trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew; and whom he would he kept alive; and whom he would he set up; and whom he would he put down. But when his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride, he was deposed from his kingly throne, and they took his glory from him * * * * till he knew that the most high God ruled in the kingdom of men, and that He appointeth over it whomsoever He will. And thou his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this * * * * and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified: Then was the part of the hand sent from him; and this writing was written. And this is the writing that was written, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN. This is the interpretation of the thing: MENE; God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it. TEKEL; Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting. PERES; Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians."

God forbid that England's empire in India should at any time be divided or given to others. When it is borne in mind that "the most high God ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and that he appointeth over it whomsoever He will," the immediate necessity for acting consistently with the light vouchsafed to

England will become apparent to the nation at large, and steps will be taken in the right direction. The Lord of Hosts is a God of justice as well as a God of mercy, and will not suffer his mercy to stand in the way of his justice. The Ark of Noah floated on the waters but did not prevent the flood,

“ Christian men,” with *unchristian* views and habits, should not participate in the administration of *this country's* government, unless they first change their designation and call themselves by some other name, in order that the God of the Christian may not be dishonored, and that the people of India may be in a position to distinguish a Christian man from an infidel, and not, as at present, confound both in one. It stands to reason that if a man is not what he professes to be, how can he be true to his charge, or true to a people with whom he feels he has nothing in common. Not fearing to deceive God, in point of religion, how can he help deceiving his fellow-creatures? Thus all the good intentions, endeavours, and promises of Great Britain to the people of India are undoubtedly counteracted, steadily and quietly, by the conduct of her own European servants.

Should it, however, be true that the *open* profession of vital Christianity among the servants of the State in India is unpopular, and a fit object “ to be hid under a bushel,” then would it not be more honorable and upright, both towards God and man, to let it be pub-

licly and distinctly proclaimed "that the Government is not Christian, but something else?"

"It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God."

In the face of all the warnings He is causing to be made manifest in various ways, it is high time that the voice of God be heeded, and attended to. Much light could be obtained by inviting essays on this important subject. Godly men, of valuable experience in India, would gladly respond to such a call in the service of their Lord and Master in Heaven, and of the gracious Sovereign He has placed over His people.

The servants of the British Government have to enter into covenant with their employers for the faithful performance of certain duties, before being allowed to take part in the government of India. If this is absolutely necessary, how much more is it so for the same individuals to enter into covenant that they shall be true to the Christian religion and the Christian's God : that, as far as it lies in their power, they will act up to the principles laid down in the Book of God as a rule for their daily life; that, to the best of their endeavours, they will, at all times and in all places, **discountenance and discourage "a negative Christianity" and shrink not from their duty to promote its opposite;** failing which they will publicly, and entirely, change their designation, in order that all around them may know that they *do not belong* to the people called

Christians, nor consider themselves responsible to God for their public or private conduct. Let it not be once forgotten that Great Britain is so highly honoured solely for her attachment to, as well as her profession of, the Christian religion, and that according to His own declaration (I Samuel ii. 30) God Almighty is still honoring her, and will yet honor her a vast deal more—only let her continue faithful to her charge, and see that all who are sent out to rule the people are true men and faithful to the religion of Christ.

God's wrath was kindled against Eli and his house for the sins committed by his sons, and was the cause of Eli's posterity being removed from the priesthood. Although he himself was an upright, God-fearing man, he failed to keep his sons from committing those sins against God, who is just and holy, and is "no respecter of persons." The Government, too, as a father, is required to control his children in their relation to God. But if the father refuses to exercise his authority, who is to do this duty? And when God's forbearance is exhausted, He will say what he did to Eli :

"And I will raise me up a faithful priest, that shall do according to that which is in mine heart and in my mind ; and I will build him a sure house, and he shall walk before mine anointed for ever."—I Samuel ii. 35.

The rule of the Hon'ble East India Company was rejected solely for this one cause. May God

grant that the present Government may prove more faithful to the will of God, and seek His honor and glory before all other consideration, so that blessings in rich abundance may be poured down from Heaven both upon the Government and the governed ; that the whole world may see how England has fulfilled her great mission to India.

PART III

IN CONNECTION WITH THE EURASIANS AND
ANGLO-INDIANS.

A LITTLE thoughtful consideration will make it evident to most minds that the above class of people are destined to take an active, if not a prominent, part in this work of "England's Mission to India." "The day of small things is not to be despised;" from *small beginnings* great things do come to pass; it has been so since the world was created.

The Eurasians are essentially a *new nation in embryo*—as it were, an undeveloped infant—or, as the germ of some gigantic plant, which progresses very slowly and almost imperceptibly for a time, but ultimately out-grows all the trees round about it. God, in his inscrutable providence, has caused this *germ of a peculiar nation* to be planted in the soil of India, and has permitted it to take root. For a century and a quarter this community has been growing, slowly but surely. Rulers of various dispositions and minds have come and gone in quick succession, but, with a very few exceptions, all have passed away without giving that consideration to this subject which it demanded. Nay, men in power—many of whom manifestly rule India, not for God, but for themselves, have tried to

hinder God's purpose ; while, on the other hand, God-fearing men, and numberless other conscientious people, have, from time to time, prominently and earnestly brought the state of this growing community to the notice of the Government, suggesting various plans whereby their condition might be improved which would save them from that degradation and vice which poverty and starvation foster, but hitherto without effect. Much that is at present blamable and improper in their conduct has been picked up from the example set them by those who should have guided them ; the people have never been in a position to feel their responsibility as a body, or to see the necessity of forming social organizations in order to be united as Christians, and be enabled to develop their good qualities. But it is not too late yet ; with a little judicious management *on the part of Government*, this community would undoubtedly become a source of blessing to India ; whereas, as matters now stand, it is actually being driven to become a curse, and will be so in a few years hence, unless remedial measures be adopted.

It is very evident that India can never again be under the dominion of a heathen power ; the way has been preparing step by step for the "Sun of Righteousness" to shine forth in his glory, so that "the people which sit in darkness may see a great light." This country is "no home" for Europeans, and God Himself is manifestly maturing a plan by which a

great want may be supplied, *i. e.*, the fixed settlement of a Christian people who may take a lively interest in the land of their birth and heartily engage in this special work of God. India is essentially the home of the Eurasians as well as of the "Anglo-Indians" who are so closely connected with each other that (although the latter very foolishly try to ignore the former) they may be accounted for under the same "general head," and upon this body it is evident will eventually devolve the said special work by God's blessing.

By the term Anglo-Indian, it is to be understood here those Europeans who have no chance or desire to return "Home," and more especially the descendants of the same who must abide in India, but have no Indian blood in their veins. Whereas the term "Eurasian" is derived by joining the names of two great countries together, *i. e.* Europe and Asia, and is, not only in itself demonstrative of its origin, but is a most appropriate designation for those who are thus connected by blood with both countries. History declares "that the ancient Hindoos were the ancestors not only of the Hindoos who afterwards came to India, but also of the Europeans who went to live in Europe, and of the Persians who went to live in Persia." It may not be that the Eurasians are very closely connected with the said ancient Hindoos called "Aryans," yet it cannot be denied that they are a link between Europe and Asia, claiming direct

ancestral descent from the English, Irish, and Scotch, truly British-born subjects—at once the representatives of both countries, brought into being by the *direct action of England*, and for whose existence the British nation is most clearly responsible to God.

The greater portion of the Eurasian body of the present day can clearly prove (even at this late date) that they are the descendants of legally married couples; that on one side the parentage was pure European, and on the other side—mother and grandmother were from well-recognized Christian communities, though these may have been originally the offsprings of pure native converts several generations back; for such communities did exist in India, at least for a hundred years previous to the British rule, whose lives and social habits were of a most strictly moral character.

Having rights and claims of a twofold nature, both Europe and Asia being their ancestral home, they should be entitled to respect from all others as being a “peculiar people,” raised up under the providence of God for some wise and good purpose; instead of this, the most enlightened of the two countries is the foremost in bringing them into contempt, calling them “half-castes” and other opprobrious names, while the natives are but too prone to copy the example thus set before them; yet it is a known and acknowledged fact that the Eurasians have one

peculiarity in them, *i. e.* that under all circumstances they identify themselves as one with the rulers of the land, "having a deep interest in the country, with all the talent and principle of the European race," ever maintaining the character for being trustworthy, respectable, and well-conducted; ready to distinguish themselves in various walks of life, as may be amply verified from the public records, and the testimony of retired officers. The Government of India is fully cognizant of the fact that a large class of this body now exists whose loyalty and services to the State have extended over two or three generations in this country, and that it was the exertions of their progenitors which enabled Great Britain to acquire and hold its possessions in India, for they were the men who were engaged in every battle fought, every fort taken, enduring every hardship and privation, ever ready to shed their blood in the cause of England; while their descendants are not a whit behind them, wanting but the opportunity to prove their loyalty and attachment to the Government; for a proof, one has only to look back to the events which transpired during the mutinies of 1857-58, when in every station or post every individual of this body readily joined himself in the cause of the British, and in most cases rendered important service, and would again and again do the same if needed. Thus it is very clear that the Eurasians no sooner brought into existence but have commenced playing a most prominent part

in this great drama, and no argument would appear to be necessary to shew that they deserve well of the British Government. Alas! the action of the last few years clearly indicates that the present rulers entirely ignore their just claim upon the Government. The course now being pursued leaves no room to doubt that the future of the Eurasian is dark and gloomy in the extreme. Every avenue to gain a respectable and honest livelihood is gradually but surely being closed against them in all and every department under the Government.

This state of things is being brought about since the abolition of the Hon'ble East India Company's Government, and it is appalling to contemplate what is to become of this class of Her Majesty's loyal subjects. No status, no prospects, no interest in the soil of India; not a foot of which they can call their own, although their forefathers have had a direct hand in helping to acquire and retain the same; and it is in reference to members of this class whose present sufferings and privations draw the sympathy of well-disposed and right-thinking Hindoos and others who have known them of old to be an upright, deserving set of people, now unable to procure the means of subsistence, large numbers of whom are daily being reduced to a state of starvation, and while commiserating the state of such, the said natives cannot help remarking that a Government which thus tramples under foot the claims of those who are clearly of their

own nation, religion, and caste (in India caste rules the day,) it can never be true to the people of India, whatever its professions may be to the contrary. It matters not how much the Government may see fit to idolise and promote the interests and condition of the people—they *know well* that “charity begins at home,” and while those of England’s own progeny and creed, for whom the English nation is evidently responsible as parents are responsible for their children, are being trampled down under foot, there is every cause of apprehension, and good reasons to doubt the sincerity of those measures so openly being adopted for the good of the natives. True wisdom comes from God alone, therefore truly God-fearing men are absolutely necessary to be placed in the administration—men who will ever pray to God as did King Solomon (I Chron. 8 10) “Give me now wisdom and knowledge, that I may go out and come in before this people, for who can judge this thy people that is so great.”——“*Behold the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom.*” (Job xxviii-28.) India’s greatest need at present undoubtedly is a large increase among the rulers, who feel themselves *accountable to God* for what they do, and who will as a matter of obligation strive to do their duty as God commands—“walking righteously and speaking uprightly.” Everything that is as yet good and creditable to Government is due to such men, of whom there is still a goodly number in the country, although the open

profession of religion is "not reputable in the circle where they move." Their influence, however, prevents much evil, and helps to keep in check those who would otherwise follow the bent of their own minds.

It is a fact that the Eurasians have to struggle under certain disadvantages, which under existing circumstances they know not how to remedy, not that they claim any exception from the evils with which every state of society is full to repletion; but it is highly discouraging when the vices of others are saddled upon them and brings them into disfavour; for instance, when natives who are not in the remotest degree connected with Europeans by blood, are received as orphans, or converts, and baptised with European names, they are encouraged to assume European costume and to ape European manners; having also the advantage of English education they are enabled to fill various offices, but in most cases behave so badly as to draw the attention of their superiors upon their low and mean habits; while at the same time claiming an identity with those of European descent, they reflect discredit upon the Eurasians. Thus reproaches are levelled at the latter, and *all* are put down as undeserving of respect. As natives the said converts have no right to appear in false colours; no honest man will affect the style of dress or habits of a community when he knows that by doing so he will *seem* to be what he is not, especially if it is done, as it is the case with many, to convey the impression

that they are the offspring of Europeans, and it becomes clearly a case of fraud on their part, an unlawful personation of character with intent to deceive, and is highly reprehensible when by their acts disgrace and contempt is brought upon those whom they personate.

Hitherto all have, however, been allowed to mingle in one heterogeneous mass, the evil-disposed being at liberty to disgrace the entire body by their perverse and unscrupulous-conduct. A little care and judicious interference on the part of the rulers (as parents who use their influence to bring their children in the right path) would no doubt set matters on a better footing, and incite the people to seek their own welfare as a community destined to perform a great work for God in India. Whereas, if rendered helpless as they are at present, discouraged, humiliated, weighed down by poverty, with nothing before them for which to aspire, they must run rapidly down to a state when they will become a pest and nuisance to India, a standing disgrace to England, and a source of much annoyance to the Government.

Justice demands that those families who have deserved well of the Government, whose progenitors have rendered good services, and to whom England is assuredly in a great measure indebted for its conquest and settlement here, should be dealt with in such a way as will not only benefit the people themselves, but will redound to the honor and praise of a just and

equitable Government ruling the destinies of so vast an empire, for it is but reasonable to consider that the offspring of the above have a natural and an indefensible right to higher considerations, whether social or political, than have ever yet been conceded.

Instead of this, however, the idea of late is gaining ground that when this people is sufficiently crushed and humbled, then their children, both boys and girls, must of necessity go as menial servants to officers and their families! Can it be possible that their own and their forefathers' devoted services of so many years will be so completely ignored by a just Government as to bring down their posterity to the level of menial servants in this country?—for whatever such a position may be in Europe, here in India it is of all things the most undesirable. Would it not be far better if the English nation were to take their case into consideration, and devise means whereby the rising generation might be saved this utter degradation, *for which there is no obvious necessity in a country like India*, since native menial servants are always very plentiful and cheap.

The question may honestly be asked, is there any justifiable reason for taking measures to alienate the attachment of this hitherto most loyal of all Her Majesty's subjects in India, when their adherence to Government may, with a little good management, be for ever preserved, and the community be made a

source of great strength to the British Crown? Having been brought into being in the manner described above, they have hitherto been in the condition of children who look up entirely to their parents for every provision and means of subsistence, and nothing has been done by the parental Government, in whose service they have grown up to their present state, to wean them of its support by training them in a way to be able to earn a living by their own independent exertions, by pursuing any of the industrial trades or professions of the country; millions of money have been, and are being, spent in various ways. How much is lost in the miscarriage of projects, designs, and experiments of the public works, &c.? What immense sums have these cost, and how frequently have they collapsed? Yet these heavy losses are borne by the Government without much concern; whereas the expenditure of a few thousands for the amelioration of the condition of a people who are well deserving of consideration, is begrudged. ,

The army can easily absorb a large portion of this class in separate army corps. The educated classes would no doubt find means to shift for themselves under the privileges which place all Her Majesty's subjects on a par, *if care is taken* that the unreasonable prejudices which so much prevail among heads of departments in regard to this community be removed once and for ever, for it is an easy matter for men in power to set aside the most equitable

laws, and assign plausible reasons for carrying out the bent of their own inclinations. Others may be directed to form colonies in the lower plateau along the foot of the Hills, where, by clearing out jungles and improving waste lands with the aid of Government, they would find employment as well as support, and would in time be enabled to add to the revenues of the State. A certain percentage might still be permitted to hold posts of trust and responsibility in co-ordination with political justice. By such and other means the present misery and the fearful out-look of the future would soon give place to joy and satisfaction, and the blessing of every heart and home flow in a perennial stream on our most gracious Empress and Her Government.

The loyalty of the Eurasians and Anglo-Indians may be ever relied upon, for their interests are in every respect one and the same. Did the mutineers in 1857 seek the lives of the rulers and spare the country-born? No! they suffered alike with the Europeans, not even a child of theirs was spared. In *all* respects the very being of this community is blended with them. What, then, may it be asked, is the cause which prevents the employment of thousands of deserving men of this class in the only way in which their services can be profitably utilized by the Government, and the means whereby they can maintain a respectable and honest life? Poverty is the source of every evil, and where there is so large



a body in all parts of India, once respectable, now going down rapidly into poverty, with no prospect of better times to come, and that in a land like India, it is time that the rulers of the country take their case into favorable consideration, especially when it is considered that poverty cannot prevent the population from increasing, and that it must increase in a much larger scale than it has ever done hitherto. The sacred records give the account of a heathen nation "who made the lives of the children of Israel bitter, and the more they afflicted them the more they multiplied and grew, until the king directed them saying, Every son that is born unto you, ye shall cast them into the river." The actions and disposition of many Europeans at present in India, however limited their authority, too plainly indicate a similar line of policy if it were at all practicable; and one cannot help believing, that however atrocious such a wish may appear to some, it would positively benefit the people themselves if carried out to the letter, as it would certainly save them a vast amount of misery and degradation, which is certainly impending, if England and the Government of India do not over-rule the present policy of those in authority.

To an ungodly European in power the sight of a Christian man is an eye-sore—indeed a constant reproach, and he prefers one whose principles and religion are different, even if it cause him inconvenience. With such men, a subordinate who has no

voice in any matter, and, above all, one who can easily be brow-beaten and bullied into holding his tongue when his master is disposed to indulge in any dishonorable practices,—in a word, a man submissive and yielding in every thing,—is the one to be preferred by all means to any who is at all upright or uncompromising. But a reaction in the feelings of the natives of India is fast taking place; and with a clearer knowledge of things which education is imparting—(“knowledge is power,”)—as soon as the surprise, which the change in the established and well-defined usages and practices in native society, as regards positions and places, is fairly got over, which the present administration is fast bringing about, then these very submissive people will be a sure, and a vast deal greater, source of annoyance to their superiors. But then those who have laboured to sow to the wind shall have gone away, like birds of passage as they are, and taken refuge in a far-away country.

The education of natives costs immense sums of money, but the benefit arising from it seems to be simply to abuse and ridicule the acts of the rulers; if not, where would have been the necessity for limiting the freedom of the Native Press? Moreover, the indiscriminate education of all classes of natives, without right views of its object, has engendered false hopes and ideas in the minds of individuals who have entirely neglected the calling of their forefathers; and in the firm belief that Government situations, with

better emoluments, were of easy attainment, they have prosecuted their studies of the English language with that one object in view, and now find nothing but disappointment and wretchedness awaiting them! Being unable to realize their long-cherished object in the shape of a lucrative post under Government, they would fain revert back to the profession of their progenitors, but cannot do so from want of the necessary training: thus rendered miserable, it is but natural that imprecations and curses should arise in their hearts against the policy which has so disturbed the harmony hitherto existing among the circle to which they belonged.

That there is at present much cause of discontent and apprehension, and that the minds of all classes of people in India are being gradually but surely alienated from the British Government, cannot be a secret to the rulers of the land; but no steps in the right direction is taken to bring about a better state of things. It is admitted that the natives generally feel and acknowledge that the peace and security of life and property obtaining under the British rule can never be hoped for under any other Government, and yet it is an undeniable fact that dissatisfaction—nay, hatred—towards that Government exists to a fearful extent in the minds of all classes of people.

The well-wishers of Britain and men of loyal feelings towards the Government are filled with grief

and concern when they see things drifting down from *bad* to *worse*. Misrepresentations often appear in administration reports and other documents which convey wrong impressions in the minds of the public. It is apprehended that the state of things now existing in India, if allowed to be continued in for any length of time, will, without fail, bring most disastrous results. The public journals endeavour to do their duty by often drawing attention to such points, but no one heeds their representations. As an instance, the following extract is taken from the *Indian Railway Service Gazette* of 1st March 1879 :—

“ The only thing that will save India is a Government conducted on sound and honest principles. That the interest of India have for many years been made subservient to a class of Englishmen, many of whom are little better than adventurers, and have no real regard for the welfare of the people among whom they are called for a brief period to administer justice (according to their light) is now notorious, and if the communities of this vast empire do not exert themselves, but rely upon the beneficence of a Government largely composed of such men, to do ought that may improve the condition of the country, they will find eventually that they have been living in a fool’s paradise.”

If it be true—and there is no reason to doubt it—that the laws of England (being founded upon the laws of God), when rightly used, are calculated to bring contentment and happiness to mankind, then it is but right, and the manifest duty of all in power, both here and in England, to earnestly and heartily

strive to ascertain the cause of the discontent referred to above. Very reliable and correct information in this matter cannot be obtained, for obvious reasons, in the way similar information is usually collected. Native subordinates and paid servants of Government have their own ideas and views in matters of this kind, and seldom like to enlighten their European superiors in any way which does not serve their own purpose. Who can count the number of those holding positions under the Government, who show their loyalty outwardly but at heart harbour the bitterest enmity, and would like to see the administration in its worst state? There are others who, while they have good feelings, and wish the Government well, nevertheless like to adhere to the precept contained in the following Persian verse :—

*“ Agar shah roze ra goyed shub ust een,
Babayed gooft eenuk mah wa purveen ;”*

i. e., should the king affirm the day to be night, it is proper to respond, “ Yea, my Lord—behold the moon and stars !” Under these circumstances, in order to obtain correct information, quite a different mode would have to be adopted whereby the mind of the inhabitants in every position could be ascertained. How few there are among the foreign rulers of the country who ever care to sound the real feelings of the people? or endeavour to secure their unreserved confidence? Facts in abundance may be obtained to prove the absolute necessity of immediate reformation in

the present administration as well as in the existing laws of the Government, for there are many things in the latter which, however suitable to Europe, are no doubt the reverse when considered in reference to the inhabitants of India, and stand in urgent need of being modified.

The same journal, in its issue of 5th April, 1879, culled the subjoined paragraph from the *Standard*, containing suggestions which, if adopted, would greatly benefit India :—

“ One of the advantages of war, Lord Palmerston used to remark, is that it teaches people geography. In like manner recent events have contributed to establish a more real intimacy between this country and India. The truth has been forced upon us that if we desire to retain our great Eastern dependency, and to give it institutions which shall ensure its future prosperity, we must interest ourselves seriously in its welfare. The delusion that India is a rich country has been rudely dispelled. Instead of being an El Dorado, as was at one time vainly imagined, it is generally understood now that it contains an enormous but exceedingly poor population, exposed to the periodic recurrence of famine, and that its financial position is one of almost chronic deficiency. Indeed, the management of Indian finance has been, more or less, a stumbling block to every administration since the transfer of the empire to the dominions of the Crown. The situation at the present moment is undoubtedly both delicate and grave. Without taking the extreme view urged last evening by Mr. Bright and Mr. Fawcett, that the advance of two millions of money, without interest, to the Indian Government, for the expenses

of the Afghan war, is equivalent to a proclamation of bankruptcy, we are ready to admit that the time has arrived when a thorough investigation into the whole system of finance and government in India might be profitably undertaken."

It cannot be denied that in the government of no other country in the world are men paid, as a rule, on so high a scale as are the *covenanted servants* in India. The drain of so many years has impoverished the country and brought it to its present state. Natives compare the transaction to a rich "*honey comb*," incessantly and vigorously attacked by thousands of strange creatures merely for the sake of its coveted stores; or, in other words, numerous foreigners, with no feelings of attachment or regard for the people, under the ostensible title of *administrators*, are for ever attacking this honey-comb, and taking away rich portions from it to their country, then levying taxes and other means of distress, which adds to the misery of the poor.

An entire revision of the scale¹ of salaries throughout India, in all the grades of Government employment, would appear to be absolutely and urgently necessary. How many posts at present filled by men drawing large salaries might with great advantage, and without inconvenience, be done away with! One simple fact addresses itself to every right-thinking person—though, of course, ignored by the self-interested—and that is, that were but one-fifth of all salaries from

Rs. 1,000 and upwards to be struck off, and one-eighth from all salaries below it down to Rs. 300, there would be no taxes ever heard of—no deficits. The solvency of a State is the only proof of good government. Whenever the subject of reduction crops up, the sheers are in most cases applied to men of the ministerial grades and other poor fellows—with many mouths to fill at home—whose names are struck off the rolls, and a list exhibited! the aggregate salary of perhaps a hundred such individuals would scarce equal that of *one* covenanted servant, who *must* be kept on whether of much use or not! Facts of this nature may be multiplied in great numbers, but such is not the province of this book. The above brief remarks, however, were unavoidable in connection with the Eurasians and Anglo-Indians, whose case is becoming one of great hardship, and deserves consideration.

In conclusion it may be added, that Britain truly believes her greatness to be due to the Christian Bible, but sends out men to administer her Indian possessions without due regard to the requirements of that Holy Book. “While the superior governing minds of England are filled with philanthropic impulses, the inferior governing agents in India are petty tyrants.”

Will the Statesmen of Great Britain pause for a moment, and reflect upon what foundation are they building the Indian empire. Is it upon a rock, or

upon the sand? Mundane plans are unstable; but the purpose of God, that shall stand for ever." God's word declares:—"He that ruleth over men *must be just, ruling in the fear of God!*" and the example of the king mentioned in II Chron. xix. 6, is greatly needed in India, for "he set judges in the land, city by city, and said to the judges, take heed what ye do: for ye judge not for man but for the Lord."

"So shall they fear the name of the Lord from the west, and His glory from the rising of the sun, and when the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him."—ISAIAH lix. 19.

ENGLAND'S great Mission to India will only be fulfilled when that country is governed with the sole object and desire of bringing honor and glory to the Great and Gracious Ruler of the Universe, WHOSE ARE ALL THINGS, "who sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers; who bringeth the princes to nothing, and maketh the judges of the earth as vanity."—ISAIAH xl. 22, 23.

A WORD TO THE EURASIANS AND ANGLO-INDIANS.

IT being a fact that India is essentially the home of the Eurasians and Anglo-Indians, and that the Lord Almighty God is the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe,

that all things belong to Him, and He is the Giver of every blessing to the children of men according to His own good will and pleasure, and that we are the "people of His pasture and the sheep of His hand;" the Lord Himself has declared, "them that honour me, I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed;" and we have before us the incontestable proof that those nations and countries which have learnt to honour and love the Lord Jesus Christ, and are the professed followers of His religion, are this day the most honoured of God, notwithstanding their short comings: having the assurance that "if God be for us who can be against us?" and "seeing that these things are so, what manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness?"

Our present state needs the earnest and prayerful consideration of all concerned; without exception, we *all* need to arouse ourselves to action under the assurance that "God helps those who help themselves." But let us first realize the fact to ourselves, and also impress it firmly upon the rising generation, that we are a "peculiar people"—a "new nation"—and that we are brought into existence for a "special purpose." Such being the case, let us again pause to reflect and ask the question, "What manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness?"

Our first duty is to follow the precept laid down in II Peters i. 5-7, *i. e.* "Giving all diligence, we

add to our faith (as Christians) virtue ; and to virtue knowledge ; and to knowledge temperance ; and to temperance patience ; and to patience godliness ; and to godliness brotherly kindness ; and to brotherly kindness charity." When this is done there will be a closer union among us, and gradually the people will be "knit together as one man," all false delicacy as to position, colour, education, &c., &c., will depart from among us, and then whatever is taken in hand will be done with the sole object of benefiting the community. As a "Christian people," honoring God fearlessly before the whole world, we shall soon realize the fact (Prov. xvi. 7) that "when a man's ways please the Lord, He maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him."

Now let a new era dawn upon us. Hitherto we have been holding an unsettled position. We need to make our position honorable by a line of conduct which, when applied to us as a community, may become proverbial throughout the world, as being a peculiar people, upright and true, self-denying, sober and just ; in a word, a truly Christian community. Oh ! that all were disposed to undertake this stupendous—this most desirable—work.

All reflective minds will concur in the assertion that the course at present pursued by this community is at once injurious to their future interests ; especially the training of the rising generation, who must reap what is now being sown by their parents.

The limits of this paper will not allow of anything further being said in regard to this most important, most interesting subject ; but it is to be earnestly hoped that the matter will be taken up by others. Writing in the public journals carries very little weight, but when presented in the form of pamphlets or tracts—short, racy, and pungent, coming in at intervals to keep up the interest,—it is calculated to have the desired effect.

“ Submit yourselves to God, O ye his people, for
“ his mercy is on them that fear him from generation
“ to generation. He scattereth the proud in the
“ imagination of their hearts, and exalteth them of
“ low degree.”

“ Be clothed with humility, for God resisteth
“ the proud, but giveth grace to the humble. Hum-
“ ble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of
“ God, that he may exalt you in due time.”

“ When pride cometh then cometh shame ; but
“ with the lowly is wisdom. A man’s pride shall
“ bring him low, but honor shall uphold the humble
“ in spirit.”

“ Fret not thyself in any wise to do evil. For
“ evil-doers shall be cut off : but those that wait upon
“ the Lord, they shall inherit the earth. For yet a little
“ while, and the wicked shall not be : yea, thou shalt

“diligently consider his place, and ‘it shall not be.
“But the meek shall inherit the earth.”

“Now unto Him that is able to keep us from
“falling, and to present us faultless before the pre-
“sence of His glory with exceeding joy—to the only
“wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty, domi-
“nion and power, both now and ever. *Amen.*”

END.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

NOTE.—The following **Lists of Names** were compiled partly from personal knowledge, from details furnished by Captains Thomson and Delafosse and other survivors, from information derived from records in public offices, but mostly from private sources, *i. e.*, from the relatives and friends of the victims, residing in other stations ; and, although no pains were spared to make them as complete as was practicable under existing circumstances, yet it is feared many names have been omitted and some incorrectly inserted. The corrections subsequently made by Colonel G. W. Williams have now been adopted.

LIST I.

Names of those who went into General Wheeler's Intrenchment, and are supposed to have died, or been killed, on the dates specified.

Names entered in *italics* are believed to be the same as per list at page 120.

The dates of the three general massacres are:—

27th June—at “Suttee Chowra Ghat,” River Ganges.

30th June—Fugitives brought back from boat and killed at “Savada.”

15th July.—Massacre of women and children in captivity.

Ashburner, Lieut., Artillery, went out with a party (as at page 16), and never returned	... 5th June	Andrews, T., Quartermaster Sergeant, 1st N. I.	... 27th June
Allen, Doctor		Andrews, Elizabeth, Mrs.	
Allen, Mrs. & 2 children		Andrews, E. A., Miss	
Anderson, J. G., Mr. (Railway)	... 27th June	Andrews, Amelia, Miss	
Anderson, Mrs.		Ashe, St. G., Lieut., Artillery	... 27th June
Angelo, F. C., Capt., 16th N. I.	... 27th June	Armstrong, H. H., Lieut., 53rd Native Infantry	... 27th June

Baines, J. C., Mr. (Railway) ... 30th June	Blair, Miss, supposed to have perished ... 15th July
<i>Baines, Mrs.</i> ... 15th July	Blair, Isabella, Miss, died of fever in in- trenchment
<i>Baines, Phillip, Master</i> 15th July	
Battine, C., Lieut. 14th N. I. ... 30th June	<i>Bothwick, Mrs.</i> ... 15th July
<i>Battine, Mrs.</i> ... 15th July	Boulton, A. T., Lieut., 7th L. Cavy. ... 27th June
Barlow, Mr.	
Batavia, Martha, Miss, aged 17 years ... 27th June	Bowling, J. P., Assistant Surgeon, 56th Native Infantry
Balfour, M., Lieut., 2nd Cavalry ... 30th June	<i>Bowling, Mrs.</i> ... 15th July
Bax, G., Lieut., 41st N. I., died of wounds in the intrenchment	Boyce, W. R., Surgeon, 2nd L. Cavy. ... 30th June
Belson, H., Captain, 53rd N. I. ... 27th June	Boyce, Mrs. ... 30th June
Belson, Mrs., died of fever ... 19th June	Bridges, O. S., Lieut., 53rd N. I. ... 27th June
Belson, Miss, died in the intrenchment	Brightman, Miss, died of fever,
Bell, Thomas, Sergt.- Major, 56th N. I., died of sun-stroko ... 21st June	Brierly, Edwin, Mr., E. T. Office.
<i>Bell, Margaret, Mrs.</i> ... 15th July	<i>Brett, Mrs.</i> ... 15th July
Bell, son to do. ... 27th June	Brooke, Sergt., D. P. W.
Bell, son to do. ... 27th June	Brooke, Mrs.
<i>Bell, Miss</i> (6 years of age) ... 15th July	<i>Burn, C., Miss</i> ... 15th July
Berrill, W., Conductor, (Commissariat) ... 27th June	<i>Burn, Miss,</i> ... 15th July
<i>Berrill, Mrs.</i> ... 15th July	Burney F. W., Lieut., Artillery ... 27th June
Berrill, Isabella, Miss (14 years of age)	Bunney, Mr., Horse- breaker 27th June
Berrill, T. A., Mr. (Railway)	Campbell, Mr.
Berrill, H., Mr. (do.)	Campbell, Mrs.
<i>Bennet, Eliza, Miss,</i> granddaughter to Bazar Sgt. Reid ... 15th July	<i>Caley, two Masters</i> 15th July
Beestal, Mrs.	<i>Carter, Mrs.</i> 15th July
Bisset, Miss	Carimody, Sergeant 27th June
Blair, Mr.	Carimody, Mrs., Milli- ner, ... 27th June
Blair, Mrs., supposed to have perished ... 15th July	Chandler, Emma, Miss, 27th June
	Cheeters, Mary, maid servant to Mrs. Prout ... 15th July
	Chalmers, W. A., Lieut., 56th N. I., killed in the intrenchment

Chalwin, E. G., Vity.	Darling, Mrs. & infant
Surgeon, 2nd L. Cavalry, killed in intrenchment	<i>Dachey</i> , Mrs. & infant 15th July
	Darby, Mrs. & infant 27th June
<i>Chalwin</i> , Mrs. ... 15th July	<i>Daly</i> , Mrs. ... 15th July
Christie, Henry, Mr.	Davis, Mr. & 4 children
(see page 61) ... 21st June	Dawson, A., Ensign 53rd
Christie, Mrs. ... 27th June	N. I. ... 27th June
Christie, 3 Misses	DeLafosse, Licut., 53rd
Christie, Master	N. I. ... Escaped
<i>Conway</i> , Maria, Miss... 15th July	Dempster, C., Lieut.,
<i>Cousins</i> , James, Master 15th July	Artillery, shot in the
Collins, I. R., Inspector,	intrenchment ...
Post Offices	Dempster, Mrs. and 4
Collins, J., Mrs.	children ...
Connelly, Mrs.	DeCruize, Miss (Free
Cockey, H. E., Revd... 27th June	School) ...
Collyer, N., Surgn.,	DeRussett, Mr., Mer-
53rd N. I., died of	chant ... 27th June
wounds in the in-	DeRussett, Mrs. (page
trenchment.	37) ... 11th June
<i>Colgan</i> , Mrs. ... 15th July	DeRussett, 2 children
Cook, R. B., Mr., Opium	Duncan, David, Mr.,
Department	Merchant ... 27th June
<i>Cook</i> , Mrs.	Duncan, Mrs. and in-
Cook (family of above)	fant ...
Cox, Mr., killed by shell	Duncan, Mas- {
in the intrenchment.	ter { 38 } ... 20th June
Cooper, H. R., Mr.,	Duncan, Miss { 21 }
(Railway) ... 30th June	<i>Duncan</i> , Henry, Master 15th July
<i>Cooper</i> , Mrs. ... 15th July	<i>Dupton</i> , Mrs. ... 15th July
Cooper (family of above)	<i>Dupton</i> , Charles ... 15th July
<i>Copeman</i> , Mrs. ... 15th July	<i>Dupton</i> , William ... 15th July
<i>Crabb</i> , Mrs. ... 15th July	<i>Dupton</i> , Henry ... 15th July
Cripps, S. E., Mrs., died	<i>Dundas</i> , W., Master ... 15th July
in the intrenchment.	Duffey, Apothecary
Cummins, Mr., (Rail-	Eckford, J. A. H., Lieut.,
way) wounded in the	Artillery, killed by a
intrenchment.	round shot in the in-
Currie, E. H., Captain,	trenchment
H. M.'s 84th Regt.,	Eckford, Mrs.
died of wounds.	Elms, E. J., Capt., 1st
<i>Dallas</i> , Mrs. ... 15th July	N. I.
Daniell, M. G. Lieut.,	Enmor, W., Apothe-
2nd L. Cavy. ... 30th June	cary, H.M.'s 32d Regt.
	Enmor, Mrs.

Evans, Mrs. and 2 children, killed by a fall of masonry	Gee, W., Mr., Merchant, killed in the intrenchment ...	7th June
Ewart, John, Colonel, 1st N. I. (page 74) ...	Gee, Rose Anne, Mrs., died of fever in do.	27th June
Ewart, Mrs. and 2 children (page 74) ...	Gibson, Mrs.	27th June
Ewart, J. H., Lieut., 12th N. I.	Gibson, Miss	
Fagan, H., Lieut., 56th N. I. ...	Gill, Mr., Schoolmaster (pages 25 and 45)	13th June
Fagan, Mr.	Gill, Mrs., (ditto) ...	13th June
Fagan, Mrs.	Gill, 3 children ...	27th June
Fagan, two Misses	Gill, 1 child ...	15th July
Farnon, Mr., Telegraph Dept. (page 49) ...	Gilpin, Mr.	
Fairburn, Mrs.	<i>Gilpin, Sarah, Mrs.</i> ...	15th July
Fenn, Mrs.	<i>Gilpin, Harriet</i> ...	15th July
Fitzgerald, John, Mr.	<i>Gilpin, Sarah</i> ...	15th July
<i>Fitzgerald, Margaret</i> ...	<i>Gilpin, Sam</i> ...	15th July
<i>Fitzgerald, Mary</i> ...	<i>Gilpin, S.</i> ...	15th July
<i>Fitzgerald, Tom</i> ...	Gladwin, H., Sergt.-Major, 2nd Cavalry	
<i>Fitzgerald, Ellen</i> ...	Glanville, G. I., Lieut.,	27th June
<i>Fitzgerald, John</i> ...	Glasgow, two Misses	
Forman, T. W., Ensign, 53rd N. I. (wounded)	Goad, C. R., Lieut., 56th N. I. ...	27th June
Forsyth, W. (Railway)	Goodwin, Mr., (Telegraph Office)	
<i>Fraser, Mrs., died in bondage in July</i>	Gordon, W., Qr.-Master Sergt., 53rd N. I. ...	27th June
Freeman, Mr.	Gordon, Mrs. ...	27th June
Frost, Mary, Mrs. (aged 60 years) ...	Gordon, C. A., Master	
Frost, Rebecca, Mrs. (25 years) and infant ...	Gordon, S. W., Master	
Frost, Emelina, Miss (17 years) ...	Green, Mr. (E. I. Railway) ...	27th June
Fulton, Sophia, Miss	<i>Green, Mrs.</i>	
Fulton, W., Master	<i>Green, Edward, Master</i>	
Garbett, C., Dr. Sup. Surgeon, died of fever in the intrenchment	Green, Susan, Miss	
Garrett, Mr., Engineer (Railway)	Grey, Sub-Engineer (D. P. W.), died in the intrenchment	
Galway, Mr. (Telegraph)	Grey, Mrs.	
	<i>Greenway, Rose Ann, Mrs.; son Edward and family (see list No. 2).</i>	

Greenway, Thomas, Mr., Merchant, died of fever in the in- trenchment	Haycock, Mrs. (mother to ditto.) ... 27th June
Greenway, Mrs., burnt in boats ... 27th June	Haycock, Mr., Watch- maker, died in the intrenchment
(<i>Their children.</i>)	Haycock, Mrs., died of fever in intrench- ment
Greenway, Miss Louisa, died of fever in the intrenchment	Hay, J. D., Mr., Mer- chant (page 45) ... 16th June
Greenway, Master Henry, burnt ... 27th June	Hay, Mrs. (and 3 chil- dren)
Greenway, Misses Jane and Mary ... 15th July	Hanna, Mr., Engineer (E. I. Railway)
Greenway, Master Frederick, ... 27th June	Hefferan, Asst. Apothe- cary, Artillery
Greenway, Samuel, Mr., Merchant ... 30th June	Heberden, M. C., Mr. (wounded) ... 27th June
Greenway, Mrs. and infant, died of fever in the intrenchment	Heron, Sergeant-Major, 1st N. I.
(<i>Their children.</i>)	Heron, Mrs. and 2 chil- dren
Greenway, Miss Ann	Henderson, J. W., En- sign, 56th N. I. ... 27th June
Greenway, Miss Rosaline	Henderson, E., Mr., drowned ... 27th June
Grinsey, Mrs.	Hillersdon, W. R., Ma- jor, 53rd N. I.
Gum, Mr. (E. I. Ry.)	(wounded) ... 27th June
Guthrie, Mrs. ... 15th July	Hillersdon, C. G., Ma- gistate and Collec- tor, killed by a round
Guthrie, C., Miss ... 15th July	shot ... 13th June
Harrison, J. H., Lieut., 2nd L. Cavalry ... 28th June	Hillersdon, Mrs. (see page 26) died in the intrenchment ... 9th June
Harris, P. H., Dr., Civil Surgeon ... 27th June	Hillersdon, 2 children, died of fever
Harris, Mrs.	Hillings, Sergt.-Major, 1st N. I.
Hagan, Mrs.	Hillings, Lydia, Mrs. and a son
Harkness, Mrs. and child (Free School)	Hill, E. C., Ensign, H. M.'s 32nd Regt.
Halliday, W. L., Capt., 56th N. I., shot in the intrenchment	
Halliday, Mrs. & child, died of small-pox	
Haycock, Revd. (see page 51) ... 20th June	

<i>Hill, Mary, Mrs.</i> ... 15th July	<i>Kinleside, Henry, Master</i> ... 15th July
<i>Holmes, Elizabeth, Miss</i> ... 15th July	<i>Kinleside, Willis, Master</i> ... 15th July
<i>Jack, Alex., C. B., Brigadier, died of fever (see page 25)</i>	<i>Kight, Mrs. and 2 children</i> ... 27th June
<i>Jack, Mr., wounded and died (see page 25)</i>	<i>Kirk, Mrs., Senior</i> ... 27th June
<i>Jackson, Mr., killed by a round shot in the intrenchment</i>	<i>Kirk, Grace, Miss</i> ... 15th July
<i>Jackson, J. A., Mrs.</i>	<i>Kirk, Charlotte, Miss</i> ... 15th July
<i>James, W., Master</i> ... 15th July	<i>Kirk, William, Master</i> ... 15th July
<i>James, Mrs.</i>	<i>Kirk, John, Mr., Merchant</i>
<i>Jacobi, Fred., Coach-builder, killed in the intrenchment</i>	<i>Kirk, Mrs. and infant</i>
<i>Jacobi, Mrs.</i> ... 27th June	<i>Kirkpatrick, Mr., Merchant</i>
<i>Jacobi, H., and family (see List No. 2)</i>	<i>Kirkpatrick, Mrs. and infant</i>
<i>Jackford, Mrs.</i>	<i>Latouche, H., Mr. (E. I. R.)</i> ... 30th June
<i>Jellico, T. G., Capt., 53rd N. I.</i> ... 27th June	<i>Larkins, G., Major, Artillery</i>
<i>Jellico, Mrs. and 2 children, died of fever in the intrenchment</i>	<i>Larkins, Mrs. and 2 children</i>
<i>Jenkins, R. U., Capt., 2nd Cavalry, died of wounds in ditto.</i>	<i>Lake, Qr.-Mr. Sergt., 56th N. I., died in the intrenchment</i>
<i>Jervis, S. C., Lieut., shot in the intrenchment</i>	<i>Lake, Mrs.</i>
<i>Jones, Mr.</i> ... 27th June	<i>Lawrence, John, Mr. (E. I. R.)</i>
<i>Jones, Mrs.</i> ... 15th July	<i>Lawrence, Mrs. and 3 children</i>
<i>Johnston, A. R., Mr. (E. I. R.)</i>	<i>Leary, Mrs.</i> ... 15th July
<i>Johnston, Mrs. and children.</i>	<i>Leary, James, Master</i> ... 15th July
<i>Keeler, Mrs.</i>	<i>Leary, Chas., Master</i>
<i>Kelly, Sergt. (D. P. W.)</i>	<i>Leath, Miss</i>
<i>Kelly, Mrs.</i>	<i>Lewis, James, Master</i> ... 15th July
<i>Kempland, G., Capt., 56th N. I.</i> ... 27th June	<i>Lindsay, W., Major (A. Genl.) died in the intrenchment</i> ... 18th June
<i>Kempland, Mrs. and 3 children</i> ... 27th June	<i>Lindsay, L., Mrs., died in the intrenchment</i> 17th June
<i>Kinleside, Mrs.</i> ... 15th July	<i>Lindsay, Caroline, Miss</i> , 15th July
	<i>Lindsay, Frances, Miss</i> , 15th July
	<i>Lindsay, Alice, Miss</i> , died in captivity ... 9th July

Lindsay, G., Ensign, 1st N. I. ...	27th June	Moore, J., Capt., H. M.'s 32nd Regt. ...	27th June
<i>Lindsay, G., Mrs., died in captivity</i> ...	12th July	<i>Moore, Mrs.</i> ...	15th July
Little, Mr., Merchant		<i>Moore,—Children</i> ...	15th July
<i>Lyell, Lucy, Miss</i> ...	15th July	Morris, W. L. G., Lieut., 56th N. I.	
Mackillop, J., Mr. (C. S.) wounded whilst drawing water at the well (see page 60) ...	27th June	Nelson, Mr. ...	30th June
MacAuley, P., Assistant Surgeon, Artillery ...	30th June	Newenham, A. W. R., Surgeon, 1st N. I.	
MacCullen, Master		Newenham, Mrs., died of fever in the in- trenchment	
Maclanders, Sergeant (D. P. W.) ...	27th June	<i>Newenham, Arthur</i> ...	15th July
Maclanders, Mrs. and infant ...	27th June	<i>Newenham, Charlotte</i> ...	15th July
MacMahon, T., Sergt.- Major, 53rd N. I.		<i>North, W., Master</i> ...	15th July
MacMahon, Ann, Mrs. and 4 children		<i>Norris, Mrs.</i> ...	15th July
MacMoran, two Misses		O'Brien, James, Mr. (Collector's office) ...	27th June
Master, G. A., Lieut., 53rd N. I., taken prisoner and died ...	29th June	O'Brien, Mrs., died in the intrenchment	
Manderson, N. J., Lieut., 2nd Cavy., died in the intrench- ment		<i>O'Brien, Mrs.</i> , widow of J. L. O'Brien of Meerut ...	15th July
Martin, J. W., Lieut., Artillery		O'Brien, Rory, Mas- ter, son to ditto ...	27th June
Maxwell, Mr., Deputy Opium Agent		<i>O'Conner, Miss</i> ...	15th July
<i>Martindell, N., Miss</i> ...	15th July	Ogle, Mr. (Canal Dept.)	
Mark, Ellen, Miss		Ogle, Mrs., and six children	
Manville, Conductor		Osborne, Mrs. (aged 48 years) ...	27th June
Manville, Mrs., and 4 children		Parker, G., Sir, died of sun-stroke in the intrenchment	
Miller, A., Mr. (Rail- way)		Palmer, Fred., Mr., (Medical Depôt) died of sun-stroke in the intrenchment	
<i>Morfeet, Jane, Mrs.</i> ...	15th July	Palmer, Henry, Mr., died of wounds in the intrenchment	
Moncrieff, E. T. R., Revd. ...	27th June	Parker, Sergeant, Road Overseer	
Moncrieff, Mrs., and child ...	27th June	Peake, C., Mr. (Tele- graph office)	

<i>Peel, Mrs., and son</i> ...	15th July	Reilly, Condr., Depy.	
<i>Peters, Mr., Apothy.,</i> (left the intrenchment)	...	Com. of Ordnance...	27th June
<i>Peters, Mrs. and family</i> (left intrenchment.)	12th June	Reilly, Mrs., & children	
		Reilly, Mr., Road Overseer	
<i>Peters, Mrs., 53rd N. I.,</i>	15th July	Reid, Geo., Mr., Merchant	...
<i>Peters, Miss, 53rd N. I.,</i>	15th July	Reid, G., Mrs.	... 27th June
<i>Peters, James & Mary,</i> 53rd N. I. ...	15th July	Reid, James	... 15th July
		Reid, Julia	... 15th July
<i>Prole, W. G., 53rd N. I.,</i> died of wounds in the intrenchment		Reid, C.	... 15th July
		Reid, Charles	... 15th July
		Reid, Baby	... 15th July
<i>Prout, W. R., Major,</i> 56th N. I. (died of sun-stroke in the intrenchment)		Reid, William, Bazar Sergeant	... 27th June
		Reid, Mrs., died in the intrenchment	... 10th June
<i>Prout, Mrs.</i> ...	15th July	Reid, Nixon, Pensioner	
<i>Purcell, Mrs., Merchant</i>		Reynolds, J. H., Capt.,	
<i>Purcell, Mrs. and son</i> (left the intrenchment on 10th ...)	12th June	53rd N. I., killed by a round shot in the intrenchment	
<i>Price, Mr., Pensioner,</i> died in the intrenchment.		Reynolds, Mrs. (and child) died of wounds and fever in the intrenchment	
<i>Probett, Mr., died of</i> wounds in intrenchment.		Rickets, Mr. (Railway Department)	
<i>Probett, Mrs.</i> ...	15th July	Roach, Mr., Postmaster	27th June
<i>Probett, Miss</i> ...	15th July	Robinson, Mr. (Railway Department)	
<i>Probett, Stephen and John, Masters</i> ...	15th July	Roberts, Mrs.	
<i>Probett, Nellie, Emma, and Louisa</i> ...	15th July	Rooney, Joseph, the Revd., Roman Catholic	... 27th June
<i>Quin, R. O., Lieut., 2nd Cavy.,</i> died of fever in the intrenchment		Russell, Mrs.	... 15th July
		Russell, Eliza, Miss	... 15th July
<i>Quin, C. W., Lieut., 2nd Cavy. (wounded)</i>	30th June	Ryan, Cattle-Sergeant	
<i>Ramsay, Mr. (Telegraph Dept.)</i>		(left the intrenchment on 10th) ...	12th June
<i>Rodman, F., Lieut., 1st N. I.,</i> killed by a round shot in the intrenchment.		Ryan, Mrs., and 3 daughters (left the intrenchment 10th)	12th June
		Satchwell, R. M., Lieut. 1st N. I.	... 28th June

Saunders, T. J. G., Lieut. H. M.'s 84th	30th June	Smith, H. S., Capt., 1st N. I., died of	
<i>Saunders, Mrs., and</i> <i>son</i>	... 15th July	wounds in the in-	
Seppings, E. J., Capt., 2nd Cavy. (see page	30th June	trenchment	
93)	...	Smith, Mr., (Railway	
<i>Sepping, Mrs., and two</i> <i>children</i>	... 15th July	Dept.)	
<i>Scott, Mrs.</i>	... 15th July	Stacey, W. H., Mr., Deputy Collector	
Schorne, John, Mr., Merchant	... 27th June	Stanley, Mr., wounded	
Sherman, Mr., Mer-		<i>Stoke, Lucy and Wil-</i>	
chant, wounded in		<i>liam</i>	... 15th July
the middle finger of		Stowell, Margaret, Miss	
right hand in the		Supple, J. C., Ensign,	
intrenchment;—and		1st N. I., killed by a	
was killed	... 27th June	round shot in the	
Shore, Mrs.		intrenchment	
Sinclair, Mr. (Railway		Swinton, Mrs. and 3	
Department)	... 27th June	children	... 27th June
<i>Sinclair, Miss</i>	... 15th July	Swan, Sergeant, Gan-	
Simpson, Henry and		ges Canal	
William, Masters		<i>Tibbets, Mrs.</i>	... 15th July
Shaw, Mrs.		Thomson, M., Lieut.,	
Sheridan, H., Mr., Mer-		56th N. I., escaped.	
chant	... 30th June	Thomson, Apotheca-	
<i>Sheridan, Mrs. and two</i> <i>children</i>	... 15th July	ry, H. M.'s 32nd	
Shepherd, W. J., Mr.		Regt.	
(the Author, aged		Tomkins, Mrs., Milliner	
32 years), escaped		Fresham, Mrs.	
Shepherd, Ellen, Mrs.		Fritton, Mr.	
(aged 22 years and		Turner, A., Capt., 1st	
6 months)	... 27th June	N. I.	... 29th June
Shepherd, Louisa (aged		Turner, Mrs. and child,	
5½ years)	... 27th June	died of fever	
Shepherd, infant (see		Turnbull, A. M., Capt.,	
page 47)	... 18th June	13th N. I.	
Shepherd, Daniel, Mr.		Twoomy, Apothecary,	27th June
(aged 22 years)	... 27th June	<i>Twoomy, Mrs. and child,</i>	15th July
Slane, Mr., Asstt. Apo-		Tress, Francis, Quarter-	
thecary, died in the		master-Sergt., 2nd	
intrenchment		Cavalry	
Stiven, Mr.		Tress, Elizabeth, Mrs.	
		Vaughan, T., Merchant,	27th June
		Vibart, Edward, Major,	
		2nd Cavalry	... 29th June
		Vibart, Mrs. & children	

Virgin, J., Mr. (Railway Dept.), sun-stroke	Wheeler, G. R., Lieut., 1st N. I. (see page 50) ... 21st June
Virgin, Mrs.	Whittings, F., Capt., Engineer ... 28th June
Vincent, T. M., Lieut., H. M.'s 8th Foot	White, <i>Isabella, Miss</i> ... 15th July
Viscardi, Mr. (Railway Department)	White, <i>Miss</i> ... 15th July
Warde, H. J. G., Lieut., 56th N. I. ... 27th June	Wheelan, Sergt. (D. P. W.)
Wainwright, T., Lieut., H. M.'s 32nd	Wheelan, <i>Mrs. and 2 children, Tom and Susan</i> ... 15th July
Wainwright, Mrs., died of fever	Widlep, <i>Catherine, Jane, and Thomas</i> ... 15th July
Wainwright, Miss	Wiggins, E., Lieut.-Col., 53rd N. I., A. A. G. ... 27th June
Wallet, <i>Miss</i> ... 15th July	Wiggins, Mrs. and 2 children ... 12th June
Warden, George, Mr. (Railway Dept.)	Willis, <i>Mrs. and child</i> ... 15th July
Walsh, Mr., ditto.	Williams, S., Col., 56th N. I., sun-stroke ... 8th June
Walsh, Mrs. and children	Williams, M., Mrs. ... 27th June
Walsh, D., Riding-master, 2nd Cavalry	Williams, Georgiana, Miss ... 27th June
Walsh, Mrs. and children	Williams, Mary, Miss, died in the intrenchment ... 15th June
Warren, Sergeant, Pensioner	Williams, <i>Fanny, Miss</i> , 15th July
Wado, Francis, L., Mrs., died of fever in the intrenchment	Williams, <i>Henry, Master</i> ... 15th July
Wells, Mr., Coach-BUILDER	Williamson, W., Capt., D. A. C. G. ... 27th June
Wells, Mrs., and children	Williamson, Mrs. and child
West, <i>Elizabeth</i> , (and 2 children) ... 15th July	Wren, F. S. M., Lieut., 2nd Cavalry
Weston, <i>Emma and George</i> ... 15th July	Wrixon, R. B., Mr. ... 27th June
Wheeler, Major-Genl. Sir Hugh, K.C.B., ... 27th June	Wrixon, <i>Mrs.</i> ... 15th July
Wheeler, Lady ... 27th June	Wrixon, <i>Clara Lucy, Miss</i> ... 15th July
Wheeler, Miss,—fate not known	Wrixon, <i>Edward</i> , (12 years of age) ... 15th July
Wheeler, Miss (see page 87)	Yates, Mrs.

**European Troops composing the English portion of
the Garrison, and who were killed between the
6th and 30th June, 1857.**

1ST COMPANY, 6TH BATTALION, BENGAL ARTILLERY.		Kelly,	Gunner
		Kenny,	do.
		Mackinlay	do.
Bestal, Sergt.-Major		McConnel,	do.
Cawcutt, Quartermaster Sergt.		McGuire,	do.
Murlow, Drill Sergt.		Maloney,	do.
Beatie, Sergeant		Mangain,	do.
Darvin	do.	Mitchell,	do.
Donoghue,	do.	Marrissy,	do.
Dogherty,	do.	Morton,	do.
Dunseeth,	do.	O'Dwyer,	do.
Edmundson,	do.	Pearce,	do.
Farrel,	do.	Porter,	do.
Fallon,	do.	Reiley,	do.
Owen,	do.	Rogers,	do.
Connolly, Corporal		Sullivan, James,	do. Escaped
Glenny, John	do.	Sullivan, Fin,	do.
Genny, Joseph	do.	Thompson,	do.
Lynch,	do.	Ward,	do.
Ryan, Anthony,	do.	Whelan,	do.
Ryan, Patrick,	do.	Webster,	do.
Scott,	do.	Warrel,	Bugler
Service,	do.		
Smith,	do.		
Burke,	Bombardier		
Norris,	do.		
North,	do.		
Beezley,	Gunner		
Burke,	do.		
Blake,	do.		
Blecnan,	do.		
Brazington,	do.		
Caruthers,	do.		
Clegy,	do.		
Corkill,	do.		
Cullen,	do.		
Gough,	do.		
Hutchinson,	do.		
Jackson,	do.		
Keane,	do.		
		DETACHMENT OF HER MAJESTY'S 32ND REGIMENT.	
		Color Sergt. Johnson, 4th Compy. (Acting Sergt.-Major.)	
		<i>Grenadier Company.</i>	
		Coyle,	Corporal
		Adcock,	Private
		Ashton,	do.
		Carroll,	do.
		Clarke,	do.
		Corrigan,	do.
		Lyons,	do.
		Mulrae,	do.

1st Company.

Brownley,	Sergeant
Hawkins,	Private
McGrarry,	do.
McGovern,	do.
Murdough,	do.
Noble,	do.
Potter,	do.
Sharpe,	do.
Toms,	do.

2nd Company.

Dowling,	Private
Keane,	do.
Magce,	do.
Overmars,	do.
Payme, Vincent,	do.
Payme, Patrick,	do.
White,	do.

3rd Company.

Lonnergan,	Sergeant
Bannister,	Private
Gom,	do.
Lees,	do.
Lovello,	do.
Widdowson,	do.

4th Company.

Maber,	Sergeant
Patterson,	do.
Goldsmith,	Corporal
Moberly,	do.
Wood,	Drummer
Dobson,	Private
Farrel,	do.
Galway,	do.
Green,	do.
Hindes,	do.
Holland,	do.
Johnson,	do.

Revin,	Private
Prout,	do.
Shammy,	do.
Sommers,	do.
Stokes,	do.
Telleson,	do.
Toole,	do.
Turrell,	do.
Wagstaff,	do.
Wooley,	do.

5th Company.

Maywood,	Sergeant
Price,	Corporal
Butler,	Private
Cagley,	do.
Haggerty,	do.

6th Company.

D'Oyley,	Corporal
Brogan,	Private
Cassey,	do.
Connell,	do.
Harper,	do.
Kelly,	do.
Reynolds,	do.
Stoney,	do.
Wellington,	do.

7th Company.

Slacey,	Sergeant
Barrister,	Private
Brown,	do.
Morgan,	do.
Stiffington,	do.
Turner,	do.

8th Company.

Hopkins,	Private
Lelland,	do.
Lansdale,	do.
Murphy,	do.
Pestel,	do.
Tritton,	do.

DETACHMENT OF HER MAJESTY'S 84TH REGIMENT.			
<i>Light Company.</i>			
Colins,	Private	Athem,	Private
Purdee,	do.	Mace,	do.
Reddington,	do.	Mallinson,	do.
Mulvelut,	Sergeant	Martin,	do.
Gready,	do.	Mahon,	do.
Gilder,	do.	McCalla,	do.
O'Keefe,	Corporal	McIntyre,	do.
Henigan,	do.	McNavi,	do.
Bentley,	do.	Murphy,	do. Escaped
Brooke,	Private	Neeves,	do.
Dowal,	do.	Norris,	do.
Glynn,	do.	Ryan,	do.
Leaky,	Private	Scot,	do.
McKamer,	do.	Taylor,	do.
Cole,	do.	Reilly, John,	do.
Drum,	do.	Reilly, Lawrence,	do.
Duggan,	do.	Woodsworth,	do.
Butler,	do.	—	
Condry,	do.	DETACHMENT OF 1ST MADRAS	
Dunn,	do.	EUROPEAN FUSILIERS.	
Eaton,	do.	McGrath,	Sergcant
Fish,	do.	Bussey,	Corporal,
Fuller,	do.	Nolleth,	Private
Gamon,	do.	Over,	do.
Gould,	do.	O'Brien,	do.
Higgins,	do.	O'Neill,	do.
Hallas,	do.	Pike,	do.
Hunt,	do.	Pike, 2nd	do.
Jackson,	do.	Price,	do.
Leonard,	do.	Phillips,	do.
Lynch,	do.	Prescott,	do.
Loveday,	do.	Ready,	do.
		Sullivan,	do.
		Stewart,	do.
		Walker,	do.

**Names of Women of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, and
number of Children.**

Francis Brounley,	2 children	Mary Carroll,	1 child
Mary Butter,	1 child	Maria Cassey,	2 children
Mary Burne,	1 „	Ellen Cogley,	
Budget Brown,		Margaret Collins,	

Ellen Connell,	1 child	Emma Payne,	2 children
Mary Corrigan,	1 „	Maria Payne,	1 child
Sarrah Coyle,	1 „	<i>Harriet Patterson,</i>	
Elizabeth Doyle,	1 „	<i>Louisa Pestel,</i>	2 children
Dorcass Fulton,		Sarah Pender,	1 child
Jane Furrall,		Dianna Potter,	1 „
Bridget Gomm	2 children	Susanna Pratchell,	
Susanna Holloway,		Elizabeth Pue,	1 „
<i>Agnes Johnson,</i>	1 child	Catherine Reddington,	2 children
Margaret Jool,	1 „	Margaret Stacey,	3 „
Mary Keane,	2 children	Honor Stoney,	
Mary Kelly,	1 child	Bridget Widdowson,	1 child.
Catherine Less,	1 „	<i>Mary White,</i>	2 children
Catherine Lonsdale,		Add orphans & other	
Anne Lovell,	1 „	children whose	} 17 „
<i>Martha Maggan,</i>	2 children	fathers were at	
Eliza Magood,	3 „	Lucknow about	
Rosa Mahser,			
Margaret Mulrac,	1 child	Total 41 women and	} 60 children
Mary Noble,	1 „	about	

Musicians of Native Corps and their Families.

1st Regiment, N. I.*

Bullard, John, Drum-Major
 Hatch, Benjamin, Fife-Major
 Warcoat, J. C., Bugler
 Ollenback, F. E., Drummer
 Ollenback, John, do.
 Ollenback, Eliza and 4 children
 Bullard, T., Drummer
 Bullard, John, do.
 Money, R. D., do.
 Phillip, J., do.
 Mendes, Henry, Drummer, Escaped
 Paricra, J. do.
 Allen, W. do.
 Allen, G. do.
 Hook, B. do.
 Moore, J. do.
 William, A. do.
 Toderick, W. A. do.
 Toderick, Jane do.
 Baptist, G., do.

53rd Regiment, N. I.*

Peters, Sam. Drum-Major, and family
 Toone, Joseph, Fife-Major
 Elliott, H., Drummer
 Elliott, C., do.
 Elliott, W., do.
 Elliott, L., do.
 Spiers, David, Band Sergt.
 Spiers, H. Mrs, Escaped
 Spiers, Eliza, Miss, do.
 Spiers, Amelia, Miss, do.
 Spiers, Isabella, Miss do.
 Spiers, Matilda, Miss do.
 Spiers, Fred., Master do.
 Spiers, J., Drummer
 Toone, J., do.
 Peters, S., do.
 Arthelene, P. do.
 Sarges, C. do.

* Names of women not known.

56th Regiment, N. I.

Alburke, J., Drum-Major	Letts, Elizabeth, widow. Escaped
Mearse, A. G., Fife-Major	Letts, John, Drummer
Alburke, J., Drummer	Letts, Eliza, Mrs., severe injuries received on 27th June, and died three days after
Alburke, H., Drummer	Letts, Caroline, and Rachel, chil- dren to above
Bradshaw, Eliza, widow. Escaped	Massey, F., Drummer
Bradshaw, Robert, Drummer	Murray, John, Pensioned Drum- Major
Bradshaw, Mrs. & 1 child. Escaped	Murray, Mrs. Escaped
Bradshaw, John, Drummer	Murray, Benjamin, Drummer
Bradshaw, Mrs. & 1 child. Escaped	Pekhoo, John, do.
Peters, John, Drummer	Pybah, R., do.
DeCruz, J., do.	
John, B., do.	

LIST II.

Mames of those who are said to have perished outside, as they did not come into the Intrenchment.

Auchin, Chinaman,	<i>Greenway, Francis, son</i>
Shoemaker, ... 12th June	<i>to above, page 31 ... 15th July</i>
Carter, Joseph, Mr.,	<i>Greenway, Leah, and</i>
see page 122 ... 10th June	<i>Martha, daughters to</i>
Carter, Mrs. and infant,	<i>above, page 31 ... 15th July</i>
see page 122 ... 17th July	Hollings, Captain, page
Clooney, Drummer,	31. ... 9th June
see page 31 ... 7th June	Haman, Indigo Planter 13th June
DeGama, I. X., Mer-	Jacobi, Henry, Watch-
chant, see page 32 10th June	maker, page 33 ... 10th June
Duncan, John, Mr.,	<i>Jacobi, Mrs. pages,</i>
Road Supdt., see	33 and 71 ... 15th July
page 100 ... 10th June	<i>Jacobi, Henry, Lucy,</i>
Green, Pensioner, see	<i>and Hugh, children</i>
page 30 ... 8th June	<i>to above ... 15th July</i>
<i>Greenway, Rose Anne,</i>	Jacobi, William, son
<i>Mrs., senior, see page</i>	<i>to above (grown up)</i>
31 ... 15th July	page 32. ... 8th June
<i>Greenway, Edward,</i>	Maling, G. W., Mr.,
<i>Merchant, page 31... 15th July</i>	page 32. ... 8th June
<i>Greenway, Mrs. and a</i>	Maling, John, Mr., page
<i>little girl, page 31... 15th July</i>	32. ... 8th June

Makintosh, C., Merchant (aged 64 years), page 30. ...	8th June	Williams, Mrs., wife of Edward Williams, House proprietor, killed with her 3 children ...	10th June
Makintosh, D., Mrs. (aged 57), page 30...	8th June	Several others whose names are not known, see pages 21 & 33.	
Makintosh, Joshua, son to above (25 years of age), page 30. ...	8th June	Two Europeans (Conductor and Sergeant) with Magazine Boats—see page 48.	
Maloney, Pensioner ...	7th June	Fulow, Joseph, Mr., left for Allahabad and killed	
Marshall, Mrs. ...	7th June	Fulow, Sarah, Miss, left for Allahabad and escaped	
Murphy, Mr., (Railway) page 17 ...	5th June		
Waterfield, Mr., page 32	10th June		
Walker, A, Mrs., (aged 65 years)	These were taken about the 5th July and placed in the ladies' prison, and killed on 15th July		
Walker, Daniel, Master			

LIST III.

NAMES OF SURVIVORS.

The following individuals were in the Intrenchment during the siege and ultimately escaped.

Lieut. M. Thompson., see page 92	Miss Isabella Spiers	} Saved on 27th June, and allowed to reside in the city.
Lieut. H. Delafosse do.	Miss Matilda Spiers	
Private Murphy do.	Master Fred. Spiers	
Gunner Sullivan do.	Miss Amelia Spiers (aged 14 years)	} taken away and not found.
Mr. W. J. Shepherd (the author)	Bradshaw, Eliza, widow, (56th N. I.)	
Drummer H. Mendes, see page 69	Bradshaw, Mrs. and 1 child <i>Emelia</i> .	
Miss Horn, taken away on 27th June, and escaped some months after.	Bradshaw, Mrs. and 1 child, <i>Ellen</i> .	} see page 78
Miss Eliza Morrison, one of the Free School girls, since joined her parents at Dinapore.	Letts, Elizabeth, widow (56th N. I.)	
Mr. T. Farnon of E. I. Railway, see page 49.	Letts, two children, Caroline & Rachael,	
Mrs. Murray, see page 79.	Mary Ann, ayah to Mrs. Greenway, escaped on 27th June and remained hid in the city.	
Mrs. Hannah Spiers, wife of Band Sgt., 53rd N. I.	} Saved on 27th June, and allowed to reside in the city.	
Miss Eliza Spiers		

Khoda Bux, Jemadar, 56th N. I.	} see page 99	Mitter Jeet, Sepoy, 56th N. I.
Elahee Bux, Sepoy, 56th N. I.		
Gobind Sing, Sepoy, 56th N. I.		Mahomed Gous, Sepoy, 56th N. I.,
Sahib Dad Khan, Native Doctor, 56th N. I.		was sent out on 23rd June to gain information, and remained hid in the city till 17th July.

LIST IV.

NAMES OF SURVIVORS.

**Residents of Cawnpore who remained away from the
Intrenchments in various disguises, and escaped
by the aid of Natives.**

Abel, G., Pensioner	Lowther, Mrs., and her sister Eliza
Abel, Mrs. and 2 children	Maling, Margaret, Mrs.
Buttress, Thomas, Pensioner	Maling, Thomas, her son
Buttress, Mrs.	Maling, Edward, her son
Brown, Margaret, Mrs. and child	MacMullen, Mrs., and child
Forrester, William, Pensioner	Miss, Hay,—an aged person
Farnon, Ambrose, Mrs.	Reid, W., Pensioner. Escaped
Greenway, Charles, Mrs., mother	to Allahabad
to Mr. Samuel Greenway, Merchant, owing to her old age was not killed, but received much annoyance from the rebels	Reid, Mrs., and three children. Escaped to Allahabad
Ireland, J., Pensioner	Waterfield, Mrs., and child
Ireland, Mrs.	Williams, Edward. Escaped to Lucknow
Jones, Stephen, Mr.	Native Christians—James John ;
Jones, Mrs.	Joseph, his wife and children ;
Jacobi, Isabella (wife of William Jacobi), see List II.	Ebenezer Gunput ; Emanuel and family.

Most of the parties in this list managed to pass off for natives, and were allowed to live.

APPENDIX B.

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

MONUMENTS TO BE ERECTED AT CAWNPORE OVER THE WELLS NEAR THE SITE OF SIR HUGH WHEELER'S ENTRENCHMENT AND NEAR THE ASSEMBLY ROOMS.

From **LIEUTENANT-COLONEL H. YULE**, Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General, to the Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces in the Public Works Department,—dated Head-Quarters, Camp Ghosalpore, the 9th January, 1861.

I AM directed by the Governor-General to communicate through you, to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, His Excellency's wishes regarding the Monuments to be erected at Cawnpore over the two Wells of unhappy celebrity.

2. Designs for both these Monuments will be forwarded in a few days. That for the Well near Wheeler's Entrenchment consists of a massive Iona Cross on an appropriate Basement.

3. That for the other Well, west of the Canal, will consist of an octagonal Gothic Screen and Platform encircling the closed Well. Both the Screen and the Platform will be executed in stone. Over, or by the side of the Well, will be placed a marble Statue.

4. On receipt of the Drawings orders should be issued to the Executive Engineer regarding the first-mentioned Monument, the Cross near Wheeler's Entrenchment. But His Excellency desires to entrust the construction of the architectural parts of the other Monument to Mr. C. B. Thornhill, C. S., knowing his strong interest in the matter and his acquaintance with the details of Gothic Architecture. The Statue will be executed in England, and will be contributed to the Monument by the Governor-General.

5. Mr. Thornhill should be at once directed to ascertain the exact state of the Well : whether or not it was a brick Well ?—of what nature and dimensions was the brick-work with which it is believed to have been closed ?—what is the state of the soil round it, in view to a determination of the precautions necessary in founding a Monument of the kind intended, the whole platform of whose foundations will be about sixty feet in diameter ?

6. It will probably be necessary to remove the Crosses erected by the Soldiers of the 32nd Regiment and by those of the Artillery. But when this is necessary they should be re-erected with the greatest promptitude as near their original site as may be, without interfering with the new Monument.

7. It will be difficult to form an estimate of the cost of the architectural portion of the Monument until some part of the stone work shall have been executed. But I am to request that funds may be supplied to Mr. Thornhill as soon as he is ready to commence ; and that he be directed to furnish monthly accounts of expenditure to your Office.

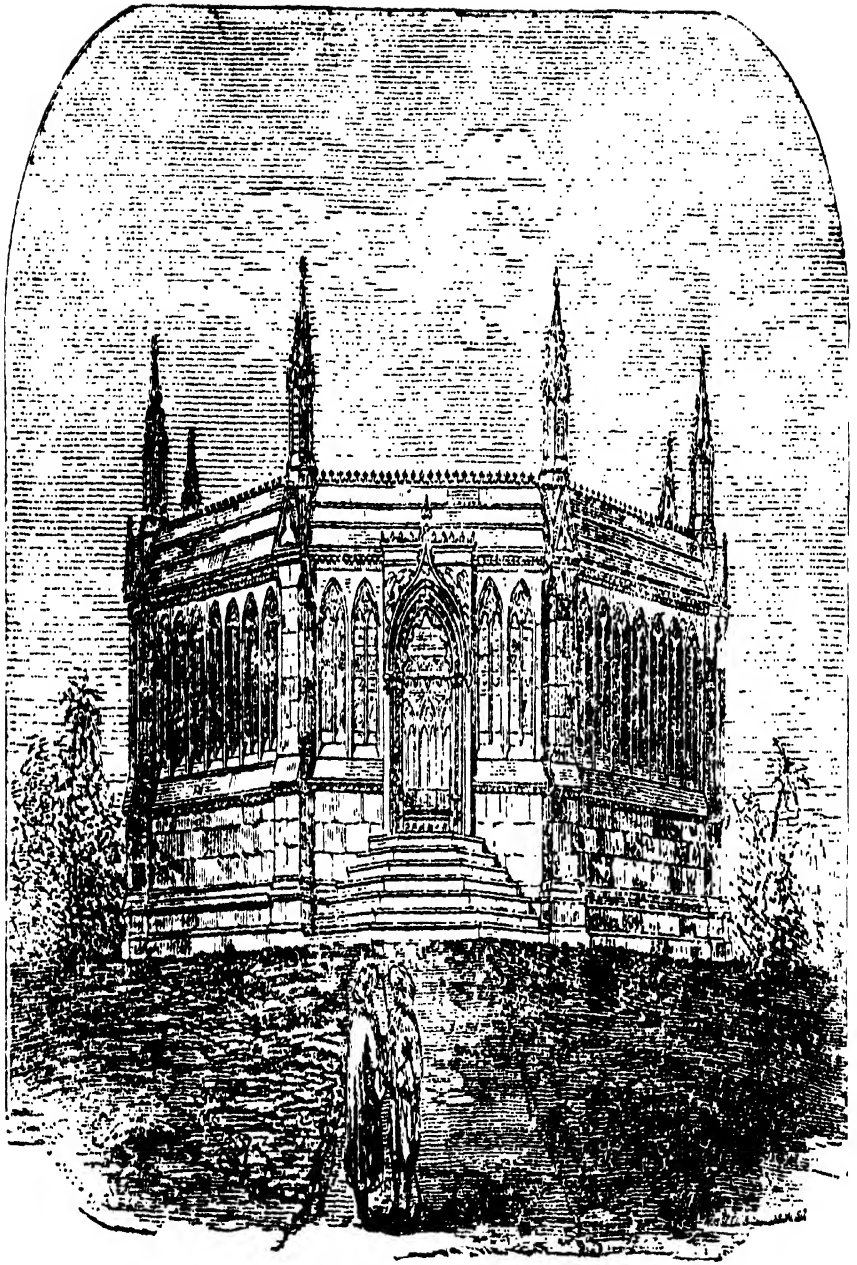
Head-Quarters, Camp Schore, dated the 25th January, 1861.

No. 269.—I am directed by His Excellency the Governor-General, in continuation of my letter No. 203, of 9th instant, to forward with this letter one Drawing on card-board and one Sheet of Plans for the Cross to be erected over the Well near the site of Sir Hugh Wheeler's Entrenchment ; and nine Sheets of Plans for the Monument near the Assembly Rooms.

2. The former Design is by Mr. G. E. Street, Architect, of Montague Place, Bedford Square, London ; the latter by the Secretary in this Department.

3. The Cross will bear inscriptions on the face of the Standard and on the Pedestal respectively. The inscription for the other Monument will be engraved round the rim of the Well. These inscriptions are given below.

4. Special precautions will be required for the foundations of both these Monuments, but especially of the larger one. For this



THE MEMORIAL WELL.

a solid platform of concrete should be laid in over the whole surface, and bounded with hoop iron. The actual site of the Well should be arched or vaulted over.

WELL NEAR GENERAL WHEELER'S ENTRENCHMENT.

INSCRIPTION ON FACE OF STANDARD OF THE
CROSS.

"In a Well under this Cross were laid, by the hands of their fellows in suffering, the bodies of men, women, and children, who died hard by during the heroic defence of Wheeler's Entrenchment when beleaguered by the Rebel Nana—June 6th to 27th,

A. D. MDCCCLVII."

ON FACE OF PEDESTAL
OF THE CROSS.

"Our bones are scattered at the grave's mouth as when one cutteth and cleaveth wood upon the earth. But our eyes are unto thee, O God, the Lord." PSALM. CXII.

WELL NEAR THE ASSEMBLY ROOMS.

(See outer cover of this book.)

ON THE WELL WITHIN THE SCREEN.

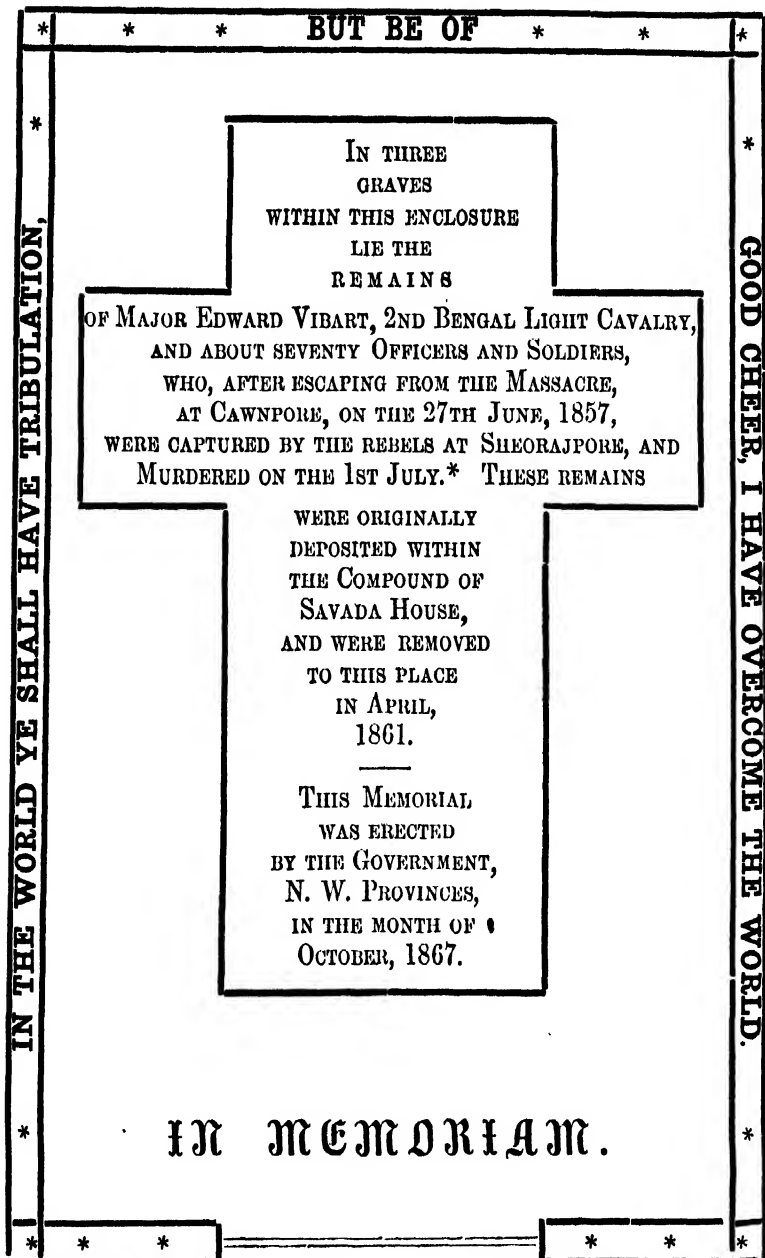
"Sacred to the perpetual memory of a great company of Christian people, chiefly women and children, who near this spot were cruelly massacred by the followers of the Rebel Nana Dhoondopunt, of Bithoor, and cast, the dying with the dead, into the Well below on the 15th day of July,
MDCCCLVII."

A beautiful "Memorial Church" now stands on the site of the beleaguered barracks of 1857; and the spot in the garden where the remains of Mrs. Hillersden and Mrs. DeRussett (page 26 and 37) were laid, is distinguished by a railed enclosure, containing a stone tomb, on which is inscribed—

THIS STONE MARKS A SPOT
WHICH LAY WITHIN
WHEELER'S ENTRENCHMENT.
IT COVERS THE REMAINS AND IS
SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
THOSE WHO WERE THE FIRST
TO MEET THEIR DEATHS,
WHEN BELEAGUERED
BY MUTINEERS AND REBELS
IN JUNE 1857.

The bones of the officers and soldiers murdered on the 30th June, as per page 149 (see also pages 91 and 93), have been buried at the south corner of the "Memorial Church," in the intrenchment, having also a railed enclosure all round; within which, on the

flat surface of the marble ground, is beautifully worked on *raised* letters, the following :—



The well in the intrenchment, from which we had to draw

* 30th June is ascertained to be the correct date, as stated by Colonel Williams.

water at so much risk, and a few of the old trees that have been spared, are now the only witnesses of the terrible moments spent by the poor sufferers during the siege of June 1857, and it would give the beholder some slight idea as to the effect the 24-pounder shots had upon our exposed barracks when fired from No. 5 rebel battery (page 43), were he to take up his position on the high bank of the tank situated about 500 yards to the east of the Memorial Church.

The boundary of the intrenchment is marked by small stones, six inches high, set a short distance from each other in the ground. These were placed, I learn, at the desire of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales when inspecting the place in March 1876, and it would no doubt be interesting to future visitors to know how the two barracks which were in the intrenchment were situated, the foundations of which are still in the ground, and might be made distinguishable if a layer or two of bricks were added and the earth about the existing walls of the foundation properly settled all round.



APPENDIX C.

It is evident that my prolonged stay at Cawnpore, which was very much against my inclination, had a very injurious effect upon both mind and body for the remainder of my life. Had I been in a position to cease from work and leave the station, I am confident that I should have been able, in a few months, to shake off the gloom that had settled down upon my mind, and with health of mind and body restored, would have been enabled to resume my post in the Department, where, for 11 years, I had spared no exertion on my part to maintain a character for industry, &c., and where my services were so well appreciated. It is sad to reflect now how the effect of those few months injured my future prospects, and I was then not quite in the prime of life, being only 32 years of age.

It is very clear to me, and I make the assertion with feelings of gratitude, that the Officiating Commissary-General, Colonel Nuttall, had kindly motives in keeping me well employed with a view "that my mind might be diverted from more painful thoughts," as he very kindly expressed it himself, and therefore would not take proper measures to have me relieved; his kindness to me throughout had so influenced my feelings that I could not make up my mind to act in any way contrary to his wishes. In his letters, which were always cheering, he would express a desire that I might continue to hold on until some competent person could be sent to relieve me, saying that my services were very valuable to the Department at the time.

The press of work, as may easily be imagined, was so great at the time, that we were under the necessity of holding office for eight or ten hours daily, inclusive of Sundays, and such a thing as a holiday was never heard of then; this was a great source of suffering to me in my already shattered state of body and mind, my digestive powers having been very much impaired, owing to want of proper food, and the life I had to lead so long upon pure "parched gram;" nor was there time to take proper remedies—"one could not afford to *fall sick*." Besides, my conscience had become very tender, otherwise it would have been easy for me to "*sham sickness*." At times I found myself quite incapacitated for work; my impaired memory, and loss of power to *fix my attention*, compelled me often to put aside work that required immediate attention, and I laboured under a perpetual and unaccountable feeling of apprehension which was exceedingly distressing, the fear of something going wrong—the omission of some important duty which might cause serious inconveni-

ence to the public service—gave me no peace;—my duties, which were always of a responsible nature, became eminently so at that time, and I earnestly and repeatedly urged the necessity of my being relieved. But there was no help for it, and I had to submit, until, on or about, the 20th December, 1857, the arrival of Mr. R. McCrea, the Head Assistant of the Rangoon Commissariat, set me at liberty to make over charge of my duties to him and leave Cawnpore. In the meantime the Officiating Commissary-General had (*vide* his No. 813 of 30th December 1859 to the Deputy Commissary-General C. C.) been pleased “to promote me from the third to the second

ERRATA.

APPENDIX C. page xxv, line 9, *for* 1859 *read* 1857.

Do. ditto lines 19 and 30, *for* Lucknow *read* Cawnpore.

Do. page xxxi, line 18, *for* expedition *read* expenditure.

impression was so clear in regard to my not rejoicing, that I was called upon a *second time* “for a more distinct reply as to what my *present* intentions were, as other arrangements were dependent on a decided reply from me” (No. 161, dated Deputy Commissary-General’s Office, Lucknow, 12th January, 1858).

I fear I was not in my “right mind” at the time, as, on receipt of the above, I decided on sending in my resignation, feeling very happy that I had done so, which would certainly benefit several parties—some of whom had large families to provide for. As for me, I had now no beloved object left whose interest I should consult; my own wants were few. Had I not lived on bare parched gram for twenty days?—and had not a pice worth of coarse chapatees with a little dhál been to me a real god-send!

I left Cawnpore on or about the 15th January, 1858, and proceeding to Agra, was, as one risen from the dead, once more restored to my remaining relatives, whence, after a short stay, I left on a visit to Delhi and Meerut, accompanied by my brother and family. It is not necessary to mention the devastation and ruin we met with wherever we went.

Having learnt at Agra that Government had authorized a

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ence to the public service—gave me no peace ;—my duties, which were always of a responsible nature, became eminently so at that time, and I earnestly and repeatedly urged the necessity of my being relieved. But there was no help for it, and I had to submit, until, on or about, the 20th December, 1857, the arrival of Mr. R. McCrea, the Head Assistant of the Rangoon Commissariat, set me at liberty to make over charge of my duties to him and leave Cawnpore. In the meantime the Officiating Commissary-General had (*vide* his No. 813 of 30th December 1859 to the Deputy Commissary-General C. C.) been pleased “to promote me from the third to the second class of Head Assistant to fill an existing vacancy with effect from 1st January 1858.” This announcement, which under other circumstances would have been received with joy and gratitude, failed to afford me much satisfaction, as I felt I had lost all ambition for the future ; in fact, I had very foolishly asserted that I did not expect ever again to rejoin my post. So that while my request for four months’ leave of absence was granted me, the Deputy Commissary-General, Major Scott, who had recently transferred his office to Lucknow, thought proper to call upon me through the Executive Commissariat Officer (*vide* his No. 2 of 1st January 1858) “to state distinctly whether I did, or did not, intend to rejoin my appointment at the expiration of my leave.” In reply, I stated that I could not well answer the question asked me, but if life was spared I would not fail to give at least a month’s previous notice as to whether I would rejoin or not. It appears, however, that the impression was so clear in regard to my not rejoining, that I was called upon *a second time* “for a more distinct reply as to what my *present* intentions were, as other arrangements were dependent on a decided reply from me” (No. 161, dated Deputy Commissary-General’s Office, Lucknow, 12th January, 1858).

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Having learnt at Agra that Government had authorized a

certain amount of compensation, otherwise termed "succour-money," to be granted to sufferers of property, I had submitted my application accordingly to the Magistrate of Cawnpore, who, after a month and ten days' consideration, called on me (in his letter No. 170, dated 31st March, 1858) to furnish "a certificate of non-implication in the mutinies, accompanied by proof of loss, and a statement as to by whom (!!!) my property was plundered or destroyed, so that the necessary inquiry may be made!" Here was I in a fix! After undergoing such severe sufferings and losses, I was now called upon to furnish impossibilities! To whom was I to apply for these documents? The European community had all been slaughtered, and the word of a native witness was worth nothing! It appeared very strange, too, that such a request should be made, since my case was well known at Cawnpore, and the Magistrate himself was well acquainted with every circumstance.

After some consideration, I sent a reply—the only one I could possibly give—stating that a certificate of the nature called for could only be furnished from his own—the Cawnpore Magistrate's—office, after due inquiry, as my case would bear any degree of investigation. I also named the parties who could bear testimony to my having been sent out in disguise from General Wheeler's intrenchment, and who *saw* me leave the garrison on that occasion, since they subsequently became my fellow-prisoners in the jail of the rebels; I further stated the names of the officers of the European detachment whom I had first joined on the morning of the 17th July, 1857, and to whom I had been enabled to render some little service before the magazine was blown up by the traitors, adding, in conclusion, that if further proofs were deemed necessary, I was able to produce my fetters and the rags in which I had passed my moments of intense misery while in captivity, as I had preserved them.

No reply having been received to this letter, I again addressed the Magistrate on the 24th May, stating that it was my desire to submit my case to the notice of Government with a view to solicit some mark of its acknowledgment of my services, earnestly urging that the Magistrate would kindly use his exertions in my behalf, as it lay in his power to make a thorough investigation into the matter, to enable him to furnish me with a certificate which I could submit with the application I intended to make to Government.

After waiting for a reply, and receiving none, I was induced to proceed to Cawnpore again. On inquiry, I learnt that a report of my case had been forwarded to Allahabad for the orders of Government on the 6th August, 1858, and was worded as follows:—

"The applicant is one of the few survivors of the Cawnpore massacre. At the commencement of the outbreak, in June, 1857, he had with his family taken shelter within the intrenchments,

abandoning all his property; but, a fortnight after, he appears to have left the intrenchment under the instructions of General Wheeler for the purpose of collecting information in regard to the mutineers within the city. In this attempt he proved unsuccessful, as he was immediately taken prisoner, and kept in confinement with irons on his legs until released by General Havelock's force on the 17th July, 1857—a clear proof that the applicant was in noway concerned in the mutinies! The loss of property sustained by him is valued at Rs. 3,300, which does not appear at all exaggerated. It is supported by the prescribed declaration on honor; and, from the evidence of several respectable witnesses, it is clear that he lost the whole of his property, and was left in a perfectly destitute state, besides losing nine members of his family in the general massacre. Under these circumstances, I would recommend a donation (in other words 'succour-money') of Rs. 500 being granted him according to the scale of salary (Rs. 200 per month) received by him. It is less than one-sixth of his entire loss. The applicant has not yet received any succour-money or compensation from this office. (Signed) "S. THORNTON, *Deputy Magistrate.*"

I now resolved to proceed to Allahabad, considering that I should be better able to represent my case in person. On arrival at that station I waited upon W. Muir, Esq., Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces; and, as it was apparent that orders had already been given to pass to me the amount of succour-money to which I was entitled, and further, that Government had been pleased to take notice of the merits of my case, and, without waiting for an application, had directed that Mr. Sherer, Magistrate of Cawnpore, be called upon to state in what way Government should reward me for the services rendered, it was not considered expedient by me to give any further trouble in the matter; I therefore desisted from submitting the application I had in contemplation.

As, however, I was anxious to proceed to Calcutta, I begged Mr. Muir would be so kind as to obtain me a free passage by steam; at the same time I submitted for his perusal the manuscript I was taking down for publication there. That gentleman very kindly promised he would assist me.

When I again waited upon Mr. Muir, he was happy to inform me that the Governor-General had been pleased to grant me the passage, and, what was more, had expressed a wish to see me, on the following day.

At the appointed hour, on the 3rd September, I proceeded to the Government House, and sent in a note I had brought from Mr. Muir to the address of Mr. Bowring, Private Secretary to the Governor-General. That gentleman came out, and desired me to wait a little, till his Lordship would be more at leisure.

After a while I was called, and an officer, one of the Aides-de-Camp, desired me to follow him. The officer turned the key of the door, and we entered a spacious hall. His Lordship was seated at a large desk quite alone; a great quantity of papers and letters were arranged all around on the table. The officer, who went a little in advance of me, motioned his hand to me towards the Governor-General, pronounced my name, made a bow and left the room. Lord Canning looked at me, and returned my salute; then, pointing to a chair, said in a very kind and affable manner, "be seated." He asked me many questions, and said he had had some parts of my manuscript read to him; but, as it was not completed, he wished to know some particulars about the conduct of a certain native named in it. I stated all I knew of the matter, and his Lordship expressed a desire that I would give it to him in writing, saying that I was to deliver it to Mr. Muir; then, with a benignant smile, indicated, by an inclination of the head, that the interview was ended. I immediately rose, and, making my obeisance, retired.

The following day I submitted my report according to his Lordship's instructions.

On arrival at Calcutta, I received a remittance of Rs. 500, and shortly after was forwarded to me the following copy of letter, No. 873, addressed by "W. H. Lowe, Esq., Officiating Assistant Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, to E. C. Bayley, Esq., Officiating Commissioner of Allahabad, dated the 12th October, 1858." It ran as follows:—

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your predecessor's letter of the 10th August last, No. 1655, and in reply to inform you that, under the circumstances represented, the Right Honorable the Governor-General has been pleased to sanction a grant of Rs. 1,000 to Mr. Shepherd as a reward for the services rendered by him during the siege of Cawnpore."

"Ordered that a copy of the above be forwarded to Mr. Shepherd for information." (Signed) W. H. LOWE, *Officiating Assistant Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces.*"

I esteemed this mark of recognition of my services on the part of Government with feelings of gratitude, though I felt convinced that had General Wheeler survived, his support and recommendation would have been most cordially accorded in my behalf, and the merits of my case would then have been more deservedly noticed and appreciated.

It is not necessary to enter into details of what occurred during the time I remained unemployed; suffice it to say that, being enabled to keep constantly on the move, my mind began gradually to recover its healthy tone, especially as I received kind sympathy

wherever I went ; besides which the information that was constantly sought at my hands in regard to the fate of my fellow-sufferers in General Wheeler's intrenchment, kept me pretty well employed. By this means I have become possessed of a very interesting file of letters, mostly from ladies in England.

Colonel Nuthall had retired on the return from furlough of Colonel James Ramsay, who also retired after a short time, and another officer, who did not know me, was appointed Commissary-General. Under Colonel Ramsay I had served while he was Executive Commissariat Officer ; and among the numerous testimonials which were in my possession before the mutiny, two that I had received from that officer were the most valuable, and, on my informing him of my loss, he very kindly favored me with the following :—

Copy of the Statement shewing the services in the Commissariat Department of Mr. W. J. Shepherd, late Head Assistant of the Cawnpore Division, from the 1st October, 1846, the date of his entertainment in the Department, to 1st January, 1858, the date on which he resigned his situation :

“ Age 32 years 3 months and 20 days.

“ Details of service and salary in each appointment—
(omitted here.)

“ Total period of Service—11 years 3 months and 2 days.

“ Last salary drawn Rs. 200 0 0

“ Promoted to 2nd Class, on Rs. 250, on 1st January, 1858.

“ Date of resignation, 1st January, 1858.

“ Certified that the above is granted to Mr. Shepherd on account of his having lost all his testimonials of character during the late disturbances at Cawnpore. He was one of the most hard-working and useful servants of the Department, and his past conduct and general character were such as to reflect the highest credit on him.

“ COMMISSARY-GENERAL OFFICE, { (Sd.) “JAS. RAMSAY, COLONEL,
Fort William, 2nd July, 1858.” } *Commissary-General.*”

With the return of health, the desire to be engaged in work began to be felt. I now began to feel keenly the imprudent step I had taken in throwing away a good situation, and services, which in a few years would have entitled me to pension, but what I regretted most was the undue advantage that had been taken of my unhappy state at the time which had decided me in resigning my post ;—affliction and circumstances over which I had no control, and which, from its severe nature, were sufficient to render any man insane—had been the means of depriving me of all—*every thing*—even my past services—and I had to begin life afresh. Had I been placed on medical leave (and I was entitled by the Regulations to two years' fur-

lough)—I should have drawn my absence allowance, and at the expiration of leave would have joined my post without any loss. But I suffered very heavily, when, a vacancy occurring in the Agra Commissariat, I was allowed to rejoin the Department under Commissary-General's Letter No. 109 of 4th June 1860, extract of which runs thus:—"I have no objection to Mr. Shepherd's re-entering the Department and taking Mr. Barrie's place at Agra. He will receive the rate of pay as he did, when he left the Department, viz., Rs. 200 per month."

Now this 200 rupees per month was at that time the salary of a *fifth class* Head Assistant, as per revised scale recently sanctioned by the Government of India as follows:—

1st class—	salary up to May 1858,	Rs, 300—	Revised salary	400			
2nd do.	do.	do.	do.	250	do.	do.	350
3rd do.	do.	do.	do.	200	do.	do.	300
4th do.	do.	do.	do.	150	do.	do.	250
5th do.	do.	do.	do.	100	do.	do.	200
6th do.	do.	do.	do.	75	do.	do.	150
7th do.	do.	do.	do.	0	do.	do.	100

Had I even been allowed to hold the place now become vacant by the resignation of my predecessor, I should have received Rs. 250 without injury to any other individual. However, I considered that this was not the time to appeal, but to work; and to work I did go with a hearty good will—having recently been married again, I had now some inducement to labour for our support.

But I very soon discovered that I had no easy task before me. The arrears that had been allowed to accumulate in the Agra Commissariat, were something formidable, having resulted from the extensive and prolonged military operation, in Central India and Gwalior. My predecessor, Mr. P. Barrie, was a young man who had entered the Department during the troublous times, and not having had the opportunity of being trained in the peculiar working of accounts then obtaining there, had been unable to afford much assistance, and had eventually to leave; it was evident to me now why Colonel Nuthall had considered my services so valuable in the Department.

By dint of hard work and close application on the part of all hands in the office, we soon managed to reduce the arrears to a minimum. The manner in which this was done is shown in the following extract from letter No. 5, dated 3rd January, 1862, from the Executive Commissariat Officer, Agra, to the Deputy Commissary-General, Central Circle:—

2. "Great progress has been made since former inspection, in January 1860, in bringing up arrears. The office has become current from the end of February 1861, having rendered 13 months' accounts

complete in $7\frac{1}{2}$ months; accounts for January 1860, having been dispatched on 19th July 1860, and those for January, 1861, on 27th Feb. 1861, thereby obviating the necessity of forming an arrears Branch, authority for which was conveyed in proceedings of Military Finance Department's No. 3567 of 22nd January 1861; but, on the contrary, enabling this executive to dispense with the services of all extra writers by the end of March 1861, and thus reducing expense.

3. "The sentiments of the Examiner of Commissariat Accounts, of the manner in which the arrears of this office have been brought up are conveyed in the annexed extract from his letter No. 86, dated 5th February 1861, which I beg to append for your information.

4. "The opinion of the Military Finance Department is also given in acknowledgment of the above in para. 2 of their resolution No. 4634 of 28th March 1861, circulated with Commissary-General's No. 824 of 2nd April 1861."

Every account that we had rendered, was (in point of bulk and amount of expedition) equal to three or four of those we used to take a whole month in preparing under ordinary circumstances, and will give an idea of the amount of exertion that had been brought to bear upon the occasion; this was done solely with a view to place the office on a footing which would give us comparative ease in the future performance of our duties. Alas! such was not the case. The *current* duties of every Executive Commissariat Officer during the year 1861 were unprecedentedly heavy, consequent on the introduction of the new system of accounts *repeatedly* altered, the constant calls for numerous statements and other documents, attention to voluminous printed circulars issued by the Military Finance, which were often so ambiguously worded as to make it a hard matter to understand what was really required, and in some instances had to be modified and re-issued, entailing much unnecessary correspondence, &c. Then came the "Budget system" into operation for the first time, with stringent and peremptory orders to submit the same on a fixed but very limited date, &c., &c.—Oh, how much I regretted our not taking advantage of the permission given to "form an Arrears Branch," which, almost all the executives in the Central Circle had availed themselves of. In endeavouring to effect a saving to Government, I found I had done myself very great injury. The incessant labour of seven or eight hours daily at office, and three or four hours more at home at nights, and the perpetual strain upon my mind and memory for sixteen months, had proved too great for a constitution which had previously been shaken so terribly. I fell seriously ill in October 1861, and on recovery, found that my nervous system was sadly shattered. I suffered from severe headaches, giddiness, loss of memory, want of confidence, and other distressing

symptoms. I had fondly hoped that the circumstances of my case would have admitted of a representation being made to Government, and that as an act of justice I should have been restored to the proper grade of Head Assistants, to which I had attained, and which I should now have retained had not severe calamities deprived me of the powers to act aright, *i. e.*, taking two years' medical leave instead of resigning. To this end I had laboured so hard, bearing in mind the saying—"first deserve then desire." The time had now arrived when this representation might have been made; but my state was such as to make me doubt whether I should be able to continue at all in the Department.

The Executive Commissariat Officer at Agra had very kindly addressed a letter in my behalf, which obtained me the sanction of Government to count towards pension the services I had lost by resigning. It ran thus :—

Extract from Letter No. 50, dated Agra, Commissariat Office, 11th February 1862, from CAPTAIN R. DAVIDSON Assistant Commissary-General, to the Deputy Commissary-General, Central Circle, forwarding an application from Mr. W. J. Shepherd, Head Assistant, soliciting that his previous services in the Department, amounting to 11 years 3 months, may be allowed to count towards pension.

3. "Since he rejoined the Department, in June 1860, Mr. Shepherd has been Head Assistant in the Agra office, and has afforded me great satisfaction in the discharge of his duties. I have already on several occasions reported favorably of his exertions to bring up the heavy arrears remaining unadjusted in this office when he became Head Assistant, and I trust from the good character borne by Mr. Shepherd during his eleven years of previous service, and from the peculiar circumstances under which he left the Department, that his claims may be favorably recommended for the consideration of Government."

Extract from Letter No. 714, dated Fort William, 22nd April 1862, from Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Commissary-General.

"I am directed to acquaint you that the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council is please to grant Mr. Shepherd's request that the time above mentioned shall count as service."

In March, 1862, I was promoted to the 4th class grade of Head

Assistants, and transferred to the Bareilly Commissariat. My kind officer, Captain Davidson, gave me the following testimonial :—

From CAPTAIN R. DAVIDSON, Assistant Commissary-General, to Mr. W. J. SHEPHERD, *Head Assistant, Agra Commissariat, No. 30, dated Agra, Commissariat Office, 5th March, 1862.*

“SIR,—As you are about to be transferred to Bareilly after serving as Head Assistant of this office for nearly two years, I have pleasure in bearing testimony to the satisfactory manner in which you have always performed your duties here. You joined this office when the accounts were greatly in arrears, and outstandings very heavy. The accounts have been brought up to date, and all outstandings (with trifling exceptions) have been cleared off with very little loss to Government. These satisfactory results are very creditable to you, and I have on several occasions reported favorably of your exertions, intelligence, and general efficiency for the information of the Head of the Department.”

At Bareilly I was treated by the Civil Surgeon, who, after a while, recommended my being granted six months' medical leave, as per copy of his certificate dated 1st June 1862, annexed :—

“I, Frederick Corbyn, M.D., Civil and Staff-Surgeon, Bareilly, do hereby certify that Mr. W. J. Shepherd, Head Assistant, Commissariat Office, Bareilly, is in a bad state of health, which has been occasioned by exposure to the sun, and mental anxiety both before and after the mutiny. He at present suffers from acute headache and irritability of the nervous system, accompanied by restlessness when he has been engaged for many hours at mental labor. He also loses the power of fixing his attention, is subject to cerebral lassitude, vertigo, and impairment of memory.

“I therefore solemnly and sincerely declare that, according to the best of my judgment, rest of mind and freedom from care and anxiety is essentially necessary to his recovery, and would strongly recommend that Mr. Shepherd be allowed six months' leave to remain at Bareilly for the restoration of his shattered health.”

At the expiration of my medical leave, during which I received “half pay,” I returned to duty and had to bear up with much inconvenience. A man with a defective memory is not worth much ; the distress of mind I suffered at this time is only known to God, whose goodness under my heaviest trials has ever sustained me, and whose mercy has always permitted me to put all my trust in Him.

I was at last advised to lay my case before Government as being quite incapacitated to hold my post in the Commissariat. On the 15th May 1863, I submitted a "memorial" for the favorable consideration of His Excellency the EARL OF ELGIN, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, the concluding paragraph of which runs thus :—

"Your Lordship's memorialist would further venture to state that another mode of ensuring him a fair competence for the maintenance of himself and family would be a grant of land from the many confiscated estates which lie at present at the disposal of the Local Governments of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Estates have been bestowed for the reward of merit, and it were therefore not presumptuous to expect a similar bestowal on your Lordship's memorialist in consideration of the risk he incurred in venturing his life to serve the beleaguered garrison at Cawnpore, and of the severe losses and privations he has experienced—losses not only of life and property, but ultimately resulting in a complete derangement of his nervous system, obliging him to give up an appointment which, if continued in, should have at the present date secured him an income of Rs. 400 (four hundred) per mensem as a first class Head Assistant, with the prospect of being able in a few years to retire on a handsome pension.

"Further, your Lordship's memorialist will not trespass on your invaluable time; having laid bare at your Lordship's feet the whole circumstance of his case, he feels assured that a kind and benevolent Government, such as your memorialist has the honor of serving, will not deny him the aid and assistance he solicits under his present distress, and for which he, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

I also annex copy of the transmitting letter addressed by the Executive Commissariat Officer, Bareilly, bearing No. 135 of 16th May 1863, as follows :—

"Sir,—I have the honor to forward a letter dated 15th instant to my address from Mr. Shepherd, Head Assistant of the Bareilly Executive Office, together with a petition from Mr. Shepherd to His Excellency the Viceroy, which I beg to submit for very favorable consideration.

"Mr. Shepherd has always borne a very high character in the Department, as the several testimonials that accompany his petition testify. Personally I have known Mr. Shepherd only for 2½ months, during which period he has done his best to give satisfaction, and has been very attentive to his duties. His health and memory have certainly greatly failed him, and the course he

proposes to adopt, should the Governor-General be pleased to comply with his prayer, *viz.*, resigning his present appointment, I consider judicious, as close application to his arduous duties for any length of time will probably have the effect of still more impairing his memory, and render his resignation a matter of necessity.

“ Mr. Shepherd’s high character and respectability having been vouched for by all those under whom he has served, and his sufferings during the mutiny at Cawnpore being the sole cause to which his present failing health is to be attributed, I sincerely hope it may be found practicable to reward him in the way he wishes, when it is probable that his now failing health may be restored.

(Sd.) “ J. J. WILLIS, MAJOR,
“ *Assistant Commissary-General.*”

Following are copies of two Government letters issued in reference to the above, both to the address of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh :—

No. 663, dated Simla, 3rd September 1863.

“ SIR,—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General being desirous of bestowing a grant of land in proprietary right on Mr. Shepherd, who rendered good service during the mutinies at Cawnpore, where he received wounds and suffered privations that have broken his health, I am directed to request that you will inform me whether an estate yielding a clear annual profit of Rs. 1,250 per annum is available for this purpose in Oudh.

(Sd.) “ C. W. AITCHINSON,
“ *Under Secy., to the Govt. of India,*
“ *with the Governor-General.*”

No. 1832, dated Fort William, 31st December, 1863.

“ SIR,—With reference to your Secretary’s letter dated 9th October last, No. 3023, reporting that two villages in the Oonao District, assessed at Rupees 1,300 per annum are available for grant to Mr. Shepherd, I am directed to inform you that the Governor-General in Council authorizes you to confer these villages on Mr. Shepherd in proprietary right with remission of the assessment for his life, as a reward for his services during the mutinies.

(Sd.) “ J. T. WHEELER,
“ *Asst. Secy. to the Govt. of India.*”

The receipt of the above grant afforded me great relief, as it enabled me to retire from service, though at the same time I felt it hard to give up my past faithful services of upwards of 14 years.

I took possession of my two villages on the 10th of March 1864, and was permitted to change the name of the best one from *Jummunneah* to ELGINGURH (as per docket No. 1313 of 25th April 1864, from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh to my address). Thus I am enabled to perpetuate the memory of Lord Elgin; for it was to his goodness I feel I am indebted for this assistance in my distress, otherwise I do not know what should have become of me and family.

We made Lucknow our "Head-Quarters" for a time, whence the distance to the villages is about thirty miles on the Grand Trunk road to Cawnpore; and shortly after, the Oudh and Rohilkund Railway line was marked right though "Mouza Elgingurh," when twenty acres of good land had to be given up for the purpose, for which money compensation of Rs. 814, or eight years' yield of the land, was offered me; and when all my efforts failed to obtain land in lieu, instead of money, I was obliged to accept of the same, whereby a permanent loss of Rs. 102 per annum was sustained, taking into consideration that it was the wish of Lord Elgin that my grants should yield me a "clear annual profit of Rs. 1,250," after paying Government revenue and all authorized village expenses. But the construction of the railway line gave ample employment to my villagers for two or three years, of which they were very glad.

At first I had no experience in matters connected with *zemin-daree*, but I took great interest in it, and soon found that this kind of life was very well suited to me; and, although for the first two or three years it was found impracticable for my family to reside in the village, yet ultimately we managed to settle down there, and having come in possession of a little money which fell to my share from the estate of my brother-in-law, Mr. Frost, at Calcutta, whose family had perished at Cawnpore in 1857, I was enabled to spend the greater portion of it in the improvement of my villages. The railway line having *split in two* the land belonging to mouza Elgingurh, it was considered absolutely necessary to erect a hamlet or "*khera*" on the part thus cut off from the main village, which I did. Here also we had taken up our residence, and had built a cottage, with out-houses, &c., for our comfort. We were now enabled to establish a free school for the village boys, and the American Methodist Mission at Lucknow sent us a preacher, who, with his other work, undertook the tuition of the boys' also. We had religious services regularly on Sundays, in which some of the intelligent Hindoos took much interest and attended very regularly.

The work of preaching the Gospel was kept up without interruption for about three years.

When I began to understand something about zemindaree, I found to my regret that certain very serious difficulties had to be contended with, the chief of which lay in the soil and in the extreme poverty of the villagers. In mouza Elgingurh the soil throughout is of a very poor, sandy description, containing a kind of very thick grass called "kansa," highly injurious to cultivation, and very difficult to eradicate, as its roots are to be found at a great depth; the cultivation of cotton, potatoes, tobacco, &c., being quite out of the question. There are no wells in this village suited for irrigation purposes, nor have the people the means of sinking any. My own attempt at one, which cost 200 rupees, and the existence of two old ones, which cost Baseer-ood-dowlah (chief eunuch to the late king of Oudh, to whom these villages belonged) large sums of money without coming to a good spring, confirms the general belief that, up to a certain extent of land, it is impracticable to have good wells. The poor cultivators have therefore to depend entirely upon the Bus-saha jheel for the irrigation of their fields, which is very expensive, as the water has to be conveyed by manual labour, and that by four or five "lifts." Though this jheel is a very extensive one, yet it soon dries up on account of the great drain, as all the villages on both banks, for miles and miles, have to draw on it. In this way it is certainly a great blessing, but it often proves to be a source of much evil when the rainy season is severe or prolonged, for it retains such a degree of moisture on the low lands all along its banks as to prevent the timely sowing of the rabi crops to a great extent, which causes a serious loss at the end. When there is too much rain, the excess moisture, consequent on the proximity of the jheel, destroys the crops; but if the season is a dry one, there is no means whatever of irrigation. There is another great drawback, which is, want of sufficient pasturage, and our cattle are never in a thriving condition; when disease breaks out, which is rather frequent, they soon succumb, and this proves to be a source of much distress to the cultivator. It will easily be seen that the condition of the asamees under these circumstances is one of perpetual, and sometimes of extreme, poverty, and precludes their getting the help of baneahs and mahajans, as is usual in all flourishing villages. Annual advances of money for purchase of cattle, as well as for seed to sow, have, as a matter of necessity, to be made to them by the zemindar, which, when the season turns out to be a bad one, is seldom refunded, it being quite out of the power of the cultivator to do so.

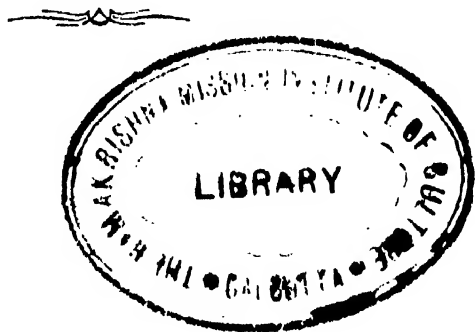
The other village, named Shahzadpore, is a small one, and although the soil is much better, the assessment fixed by the

settlement is very high, and will never be found to yield a *nekasee* of 800 per annum.

While we resided among the people, I was enabled to give my personal supervision to every thing connected with the two villages, which are situated on either bank of the jheel ; but all my exertions were soon found to be in vain. Successive bad seasons set in, and, from causes beyond our control, the distress of my villagers became very great. From Fuslee year 1275 to 1280 (A.D. 1868 to 1873) the seasons were unfavorable, of which three years proved to be exceptionally bad. Fever and ague would also break out at the closing of the rains, which would confine to bed almost every individual in the village, and it would be some time before they were again able to move about, but rendered so weak and helpless as not to be able to attend to business, so that the sowing of the rabi crop could not be done at all in some cases, and in others so imperfectly as to prove "labour lost" at the end. Cattle disease also broke out on several occasions, and the distress of the people in mouza Elgin-gurh was very great. I did all in my power to help them until my resources failed me. There appeared to be no other alternative left but to direct them to leave my village and go away elsewhere in search of labour, in order to save themselves from starvation ; many, therefore, very reluctantly did so, laden as they were with the accumulated arrears of three or four years, as well as the advances they had received from time to time, and when I came to make a final adjustment of my account, I found that the sum I had to write off as *irrecoverable* from causes of deaths, desertions, and destitution, amounted to very near Rs. 3,000, and a further sum of about 1,500 remaining outstanding against those who, under great privations, were still holding on, but who were never again in a position afterwards to make good their word. Thus, finding myself unable to obtain a living, and fearful of getting involved in debt, I was thankful to accept a situation on Rs. 75 per month in the Chief Engineer's Office, Oudh and Rohilkund Railway, at Lucknow. This was in March 1873, and since then I have continued to work in this office, my salary having been increased to Rs. 125 in the course of six years. The circumstances related above were well known to Major-General L. Barrow, of the Oudh administration, at whose hands I have received very kind treatment. No other officer in Oudh took so much interest in my case, ever since I came to Lucknow, as did this truly good gentleman ; to him every particular of my life was well known, especially the difficulties that I was struggling with in regard to my villages. On more than one occasion, when I have expressed my heartfelt thanks for the kindness received at his hands, he would stop me by saying that I "had deserved well of the Government." I had great hopes of something being done to effect an exchange of

my villages, but just as the long-cherished expectation of many had been realized, and the appointment of the General to the post of Chief Commissioner of Oudh was hailed with delight by all his numerous well-wishers, it pleased God to afflict him, and this good man had to retire.

The experience derived under twelve years' careful personal management had fully convinced me that after my demise, when the Government assessment of Rs. 1,254 will have to be paid, it will be utterly impossible for my family to manage the affairs of the villages, so as to be able to get a living from them, and the recurrence of one or two bad seasons would not only deprive them of their only means of support, but that if the Government revenue could not be paid, the villages would soon have to be sold off—perhaps by auction, which would hardly realize their value. It has been a matter of painful reflection to me to think that, although a gracious Ruler intended to have done me an act of everlasting kindness by bestowing these estates on me in proprietary right, yet it was not in my lot to retain them even during my own lifetime; and, after mature consideration, I came to the resolution to dispose of the villages, and invest their proceeds in some way which would secure to my family a more reliable source of income than the present precarious one. An opportunity soon occurred, and I was enabled to carry out my wishes in September 1876, reserving the privilege allowed me of drawing the amount of Government assessment, for my own use, which is “remitted” during my life, and which the purchaser, who is a native resident of Lucknow, pays me regularly.



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